DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 206 193 FL 012 497

AUTHOR	Macedo, Donaldo P., Ed.
TITLE	Issues in Portuguese Bilingual Education.
INSTITUTION	National Assessment and Dissemination Center for Bilingual Education, Cambridge, Mass.; National Materials Development Center for French and Portuguese, Bedford, N.H.
SPONS AGENCY	Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs (ED), Washington, D.C.
REPORT NO	ISBN-0-89857-163-4
PUB DATE	Feb 80
NOTE	266p.
AVAILABLE FROM	Evaluation, Dissemination and Assessment Center, Lesley College, Cambridge, MA 02140 ($4.00).
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC11 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Bilingual Education; *Culture Conflict; Elementary Secondary Education; English (Second Language); Folk Culture; Higher Education; *Portuguese Americans; Proverbs; Reading Instruction; Testing
IDENTIFIERS	Azoreans; Cape Verdeans; Elementary Secondary Education Act Title VII; Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children (Revised)

ABSTRACT

The following articles are included: (1) "Bilingual-Bicultural Education for Portuguese-Americans: An Overview" (Nelson H. Vieira); (2) "Minority Status for the Portuguese: Its Implication in Higher Education" (Gilbert R. Cavaco); (3) "The Luso-American Limbo: Closer to Heaven or Hell?" (Ana M. Fonseca); (4) "Bicognition: A Treatise on Conflict Resolution in the Portuguese-American Community--Some Insights for Educators and Public Professionals" (Antonio Simoes, Jr.); (5) "Overcoming Culture Shock: A Frame of Reference" (Pedro da Cunha); (6) "Testing Portuguese Immigrant Children--Cultural Patterns and Group Differences in Response to the WISC-R" (Jose Luis Ribeiro); (7) "A Profile of the Azorean" (Onesimo T. Almeida); (8) "The Role of Capeverdean Culture in Education" (Arthur Lomba); (9) "Let Them Eat Crab: Translated Proverbs in Context" (George Monteiro); (10); "A Lingua Caboverdiana na Educacao Bilingue" (Donaldo P. Macedo); (11) "Teaching Reading in English to Portuguese Speakers: A Background for Teachers" (Adeline Becker); (12) "Developing Authentic English as a Second Language Teaching Strategies for the Linguistic Needs of Portuguese Native Language Students" (Robert C. Parker); and (13) "Algumas Notas Relativas ao Ensino Secundario e aos Estudantes Bilingues Provenientes dos Paises de Lingua Portuguesa" (Salazar Ferro). (JB)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED206193

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

X This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

Donaldo P. Macedo, Editor
Boston University

Issues in Portuguese Bilingual Education

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Nat. Assessment and Dissemination Center

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

FL 012 497

National Assessment and Dissemination Center for Bilingual/Bicultural Education
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02140

Published by National Assessment and Dissemination Center, ESEA Title VII Lesley College, 49 Washington Avenue, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02140

Developed by National Materials Development Center for French and Portuguese 168 South River Road, Bedford, New Hampshire 03102

International Standard Book Number 0-89857-163-4

Published February 1980

Printed in the United States of America

The activity which is the subject of this publication was supported in whole or part by the Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. However, the opinions expressed herein do not necessarily reflect the position or policy of the Office of Education, and no official endorsement by the Office of Education should be inferred.

The National Assessment and Dissemination Center for Bilingual Education is a special ESEA, Title VII project funded by the U.S. Office of Education through Lesley College, Cambridge, Mass. and the Fall River Public School System.

This publication was developed and printed with funds provided by Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, as amended.

Contents

Bilingual-Bicultural Education for Portuguese-Americans: An Overview 1
Nelson H. Vieira - Brown University

Minority Status for the Portuguese: Its Implication in Higher Education 23
Gilbert R. Cavaco - Providence College

The Luso-American Limbo: Closer to Heaven or Hell? 31
Ana M. Fonseca - Fall River Schools

Bicognition: A Treatise on Conflict Resolution in the Portuguese-American Community - Some Insights for Educators and Public Professionals 55
António Simões, Jr. - Boston University

Overcoming Culture Shock: A Frame of Reference 69
Pedro da Cunha - Cambridge Schools

Testing Portuguese Immigrant Children - Cultural Patterns and Group Differences in Response to the WISC-R 87
José Luis Ribeiro - Cambridge Schools

A Profile of the Azorean 113
Onésimo T. Almeida - Brown University

The Role of Capeverdean Culture in Education 165
Arthur Lomba - Eastern Nazarene College

Let Them Eat Crab: Translated Proverbs in Context 175
George Monteiro - Brown University

A Língua Caboverdiana na Educação Bilingue 183
Donaldo P. Macedo - Boston University

Teaching Reading in English to Portuguese Speakers: A Background for Teachers 201
Adeline Becker - Multi-Lingual Multi-Cultural Resource Center

Developing Authentic English as a Second Language Teaching Strategies for the Linguistic Needs of Portuguese Native Language Students 227
Robert C. Parker - University of Rhode Island

Algumas Notas Relativas ao Ensino Secundário e aos Estudantes Bilingues Provenientes dos Países de Língua Portuguesa 253
Salazar Ferro - Universidade de Coimbra

The collection of papers in this volume represents the collaborative effort of a number of educators in the field of bilingual education to extend effective educational opportunities to native speakers of Portuguese. Since the implementation of Portuguese bilingual programs in the United States some nine years ago, much success has been achieved. However, this success has not been easily attained, considering the paucity of scholarly research in Portuguese bilingual education. Such neglect has historical precedence, as pointed out by John J. Nitti:

> For some time, the study of the Portuguese language had been relegated to a position of minor importance in the curriculum of American colleges and universities.(1)

The above statement is undeniably true, yet difficult to comprehend. Over one hundred million people on various continents use Portuguese as their vehicle of communication. In New England alone, a sizable portion of the population is Portuguese-speaking. The influx of Portuguese immigration has been most heavily felt in the southeastern New England region, especially Rhode Island. Since the changes in immigration quotas in 1965,

> The largest groups of limited English speakers have arrived from Portugal, the Azores and the Cape Verde Islands. The 1975 Annual Report of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Justice, dramatically documents the tremendous influx of arrivals whose country of allegiance has been Portugal. Between 1820 and 1975 a total of 411,136 immigrants arrived in the United States from Portugal or territories controlled by Portugal. Of this total, 113,773 or 28 percent arrived in the ten-year period from 1966 to 1975. During the period of 1951-1960, the number of immigrants from Portugal placed it 15th out of thirty-two countries considered Europe by the Immigration and Naturalization Service. During the period 1961-1965 it ranked 10th. Between 1966 and 1973, it ranked 4th each year as the country of allegiance. In 1974 it had moved to 2nd place and in 1975, immigrants from Portugal exceeded those from all other countries considered Europe. (2)

The wave of Portuguese immigrants to southern New England has had a considerable impact on educational agencies and public schools, creating serious educational dilemmas. As a result, schools have reported a myriad of problematic situations concerning the education of Portuguese-speaking students, as well as a high rate of attrition among this student population.

The difficulty of local educational agencies in meeting the needs of Portuguese-speaking students stems mainly from the lack of trained personnel who can effectively deal with the educational and psychological problems of these students. This lack is a reflection of the neglect by institutions of higher education in southeastern New England in the preparation of qualified educators in the field of Portuguese studies. The few institutions offering a major in Portuguese are mainly private colleges and universities which are beyond the economic reach of Portuguese immigrants. The public colleges and universities which do offer Portuguese as a field of study generally have programs limited in scope and resources, while most others offer even less or nothing in Portuguese.

Consequently, there has never been a viable tradition of Portuguese scholarship in this region that would inspire disciples to carry out scholarly research in the field of Portuguese studies. The paucity of research in this area has prompted me to seek Portuguese educators from various disciplines to present their research findings in hopes that they will help teachers in Portuguese bilingual education more effectively address the needs of this student population. While this collection of papers does not pretend to be a panacea for the numerous problems we are confronted with in our field of study, it does identify areas of difficulty and establish direction for future research. It is to be hoped that our text will motivate others to undertake more exhaustive research and test the many hypotheses and assumptions which are constantly being voiced in Portuguese bilingual education.

D. P. M.

(1) John J. Nitti, *201 Portuguese Verbs*, (New York: Barron's Educational Series, 1972).

(2) *The Need to Develop a System for the Assessment/Testing of Portuguese-speaking Students*. Curriculum Research and Development Center, the University of Rhode Island, 1977.

Bilingual-Bicultural Education for Portuguese-Americans: an Overview

Nelson H. Vieira
Brown University

As a concise picture of Portuguese/English bilingual-bicultural programs in the United States, this essay intends to give a cursory historical account of the Portuguese vis-à-vis this educational approach with the ultimate aim of describing the status of Portuguese studies in American education today. Although this discussion will predominantly deal with bilingual programs on the elementary and secondary levels, some attention will also be given to the nature of Portuguese studies programs in colleges and universities. While referring to bilingual and Portuguese studies, it is difficult to remain strictly within pedagogical boundaries for the subject involves cultural pluralism and the socio-economic-political problems that surface when an immigrant group begins to relate more seriously to the larger society. Thus, sociological and educational comments will be made with the purpose of illustrating the ramifications of this subject upon the society as a whole. It must be kept in mind, however, that the sociological implications stated in this essay are from an educator's historical and empirical perspective of Portuguese bilingual studies and consequently should be viewed as such. Needless to say, interdisciplinary studies combining bilingual education with the social sciences are still wanting in spite of some initial groundwork. Therefore, in the spirit of making a contribution in light of the paucity of material specifically addressing the Portuguese, this study will attempt to identify some of the educational and social needs as well as the problems pertinent to this group from a viewpoint that reflects an educator's practical experience in this field.

The Portuguese presence in the United States has been historically noted since the arrival of the Portuguese Jews in Newport, Rhode Island in the seventeenth century. However, significant numbers of Portuguese immigrants arrived during the whaling heyday of the nineteenth century and the industrial revolution of the twentieth. Such cities as New Bedford, Fall River, Salem and Providence reflect the results of both periods of migration and, moreover, at-

test to the maritime historical experience so intrinsic to the Portuguese ethos. (However, a definitive recognition of this cultural and historical contribution to the American scene has yet to be made.) Except for immigration laws establishing restrictive quotas, particularly during the first decades of this century, Portuguese immigration has continued since the late eighteen hundreds with larger and more notable numbers arriving in the United States toward the end of the 1950's when the volcanic eruptions on the island of Fayal, Azores, prompted Congress to pass the Azorean Refugee Acts of 1958 and 1960, inciting mass immigration. (1) Since the new immigration law of 1965, more than 100,000 Portuguese have arrived in the United States. Surveys completed by local sociologists indicate that the majority of the Portuguese population comes from the Azorean archipelago and that there are more Azoreans living on this continent than there are in the Azores. (2)

United States Census figures reveal that the Portuguese-speaking communities in New England, New York, New Jersey, and California total approximately one million, with Southern New England constituting one half a million Portuguese speakers within a radius of 50 miles. Among the school populations in these Eastern communities there are youngsters from the Azores, Madeira, Cape Verde, Continental Portugal, Brazil, Angola and Mozambique. Although from a common Portuguese heritage, these children do represent a myriad of linguistic and cultural differences with the Cape Verdeans being the most unique in their creole language and mixture of African heritage. This diversity naturally underlines the difficulty in meeting the needs of this population as well as in creating curricula and instructional materials that will be relevant and useful. Moreover and above all, this diversity impinges upon the very establishment of Portuguese bilingual programs in some communities where the problems are, on the one hand, conveniently ignored due to their magnitude and thus unresolved, or on the other, referred to unsympathetically as common growing pains of immigration. Local prejudices in the form of such adages as – «I was an immigrant but I made it» – do not simplify the situation given that such discrimination within, as well as outside the sub-group, only serves to confuse the larger society's opinions as to the motivations and possible achievements of the rising immigrant community and ultimately the dominant society's desire to provide political and educational support. As a result, advocacy for such programs, regardless of federal and/or state funding, is somewhat precarious because beyond such controversial issues as cultural diversity vs. assimilation, the case for bilingual education as a

viable pedagogical approach is still being debated by American educators and the public-at-large. Thus for the Portuguese, and other ethnic groups who are looking for their place in the American sun, the struggle becomes more difficult since present-day educational methods and socio-political issues regarding ethnicity are often clouded by local and regional opinions that over decades have fostered myths and prejudices about the immigrant group. As with other waves of immigration to the United States, Portuguese immigration always has been motivated by economic survival. With the Portuguese revolution of 1974, emigration from Portugal has become in part political, yet despite this recent development, it continues to be mostly economic, drawing mainly humble, poor, and rural individuals to the small industries and agricultural areas of America. Progress and the climb up the socio-economic ladder have been slow and difficult because along with the daily burden of hard work, such factors as the language barrier and local prejudices become counter-productive to success. In the case of the Portuguese, attitudes labelling them retarded or uninterested in education have closed doors as happens frequently in the public schools with Portuguese students who are advised by guidance counselors to take general or vocational courses which these educators feel are better suited to their Portuguese nature. Unfortunately, this type of behavior has been symptomatic of the American experience with peoples of different backgrounds and persuasions. Predisposition toward and personal contact within another culture have not been common experiences for many Americans. Our somewhat geographically isolated and ethnocentric capitalist world has fostered within us much ignorance about the intimate and diverse characteristics that other people possess. As a result, there is much mythifying about the behavior of other groups such as the Portuguese. Unawareness of the Portuguese ethos has lead many people, even scholars, to simplify or generalize about them as a group. The Portuguese are a fine example of this mythification process. They are often viewed as humble, hard-working people who have little interest in education and the intellectual future of their children. Disputable studies made by such scholars as Edward A. Ross in 1914 and Donald Taft in 1923 classify the Portuguese as retarded and also describe the sanctity of the Portuguese family as a unit for economic survival and advancement which ultimately eradicates any chance of individual progress. (3) While there may be some truth regarding the Portuguese belief of strength through family unity, the statements on lack of intelligence and disinterest in education reveal a dismissal of language handicap problems and an oversimplification of the Portuguese experience in America.

In the spirit of demythifying some of these misconceptions, we believe it would be helpful to single out one example of the Portuguese experience in America by briefly describing a facet of the Azorean experience. Here, our intent is to demonstrate that with some knowledge of a people's cultural background, one can arrive at a closer picture of the realities involved with their cross-cultural existence.

In order to describe the Azorean experience in terms of education and family values and aspirations, it is important to stress the word – *isolation.*(4) This word alone has great ramifications for understanding and empathizing with this community from a social, personal, psychological, educational and behavioral point of view. This isolation is ever present if one considers from a geographical stance an Azorean island with its mountains and valleys; humid and cloudy weather; volcanoes and hot springs that induce fear; and strong family ties that discourage mobility. In the rural areas, there is little travel except from home to village with very little village to village communication. One church and maybe one cinema become, beyond the public square and a few local commercial establishments, the center for socialization. The sea and maritime distance enhance the isolation and are dramatically noticeable from early childhood.

In this ambience of natural as well as social isolation, class differences are great and thus clearly delineate and cement one's position on the social ladder. With this cultural baggage, one can begin to appreciate and predict some of the experiences that set the stage for the cultural barriers that Azoreans have to overcome when they come into contact with American society and its school system.

The Portuguese immigrant child's situation becomes even more provocative when one considers his or her family's past experience with public education in the islands. Until 1968, Azorean and Portuguese schools were very traditional with only four years of obligatory study. In 1970, while 6 years of basic education became law, there still remained a standard, impersonal curriculum with little regard for the special needs of the Azorean child. Classrooms were bare with plain walls except for a crucifix, a map and a picture of the President of the Republic. Although the 1974 political revolution initiated cultural and educational reform with more modernized materials and techniques, much has yet to be fully implemented.

With an elementary school education and little accessibility to costlier secondary schools or a university, simpler and more humble families prepared their children early for work and their subsequent contribution to the welfare

of the family which was under constant threat due to unemployment, low wages, and the hard life of a predominantly agricultural existence, especially in the rural areas of the islands. In the past, such a life made it practically unthinkable for a laborer's son to have a complete formal education. The university was for an elite and not for laborers. This mentality sufaced not out of choice, but because of the way of life. University instruction was only accessible on the mainland until the recent founding of the University of the Azores in 1976. Consequently, with no meaningful objective for school attendance, education for many was interpreted as a burden until one finished the compulsory years.

These observations are only a few of the cultural elements that cause conflict for Portuguese children coming from a rural school system such as the one described above. Clearly, the Azorean student can encounter serious obstacles and entertain many frustrations early in his English-speaking new world. These comments can thus serve as a partial explanation of the numerous educational drop-outs that have labeled the Portuguese in this country a non-intellectual group. For recent arrivals and even first generation, the possibility of a fine position or a career is slim. Better educational opportunities and advancement have usually been more readily available for the subsequent generations who are obviously more American and thus better prepared to take advantage of America's educational offerings. However, given the character of Portuguese immigration and the ghetto-like and rural mentality discouraging its members to venture forth beyond familiar boundaries, professional and influential Portuguese serving their group and the society-at-large have been limited in number. With a small group of indefatigable leaders, the Portuguese have had minimal representation on the American socio-political and educational scenes but in the future with better prepared representatives they could avail themselves more of their constitutional rights as well as the many advantages open to them as residents and citizens of the United States. Of course, central to these needs and problems is the very issue of education, not as a panacea, but rather as a platform upon which the individual can develop to his or her full capacity.

Fortunately, in the last ten years we have witnessed some gradual changes from the melting-pot ethic to the mosaic or culturally-diverse society. The struggle for human rights and the development of bilingual education in the face of a steady flow of immigrants have contributed to this change. Yet, today we are only beginning to grasp the extent to which the melting-pot ethic has eliminated values, ways of life, modes of expression and potential contri-

butions to society that should have been nurtured and cultivated in our schools and subsequently in our lives. Some schools are trying to reflect the cultures of their school population with bilingual/bicultural education via the use of their language and the presence of many cultural traits representative of the different civilizations. And thus it is with this ideological approach that we believe there is hope for all groups, including the Portuguese.

With this preface, we shall now proceed to discuss the Portuguese vis-à-vis bilingual education as well as the different communities and regions with their educational models and their contributions in addition to the realities and the socio-economic and political implications therein. While we will touch upon as many communities as possible pertinent to our study, it is obvious that we cannot describe in detail every program and town. Rather, from a chronological/historical stance, we will illustrate the development of Portuguese/English bilingual education by examining some of the initial and major projects and their relationship to the respective local communities. Later, reference will be made to the relationship between Portuguese university programs and these projects which in turn should lead us toward some implications and conclusions as to the state-of-the-art, so to speak, of Portuguese studies and bilingual education in the United States.

The National Bilingual Education Act of 1968 mandated and thus called attention to the use of two languages as media of instruction in an integrated school program. However, this approach to teaching is hardly new when one considers the bilingual schools of Europe which often served a more elitist group, or the parochial schools of America in which the good nuns taught the curriculum, *in* English and also *in* the language of the community they were serving. New England has a history of such parochial schools with a considerable number being French due to the existence of the Canadian-American communities. In such cities as New Bedford and Fall River, however, a small number of Portuguese parochial schools flourished for some time. Interestingly, these schools were rarely interpreted as bilingual schools because their parochial nature often overshadowed other aspects of the curriculum. Moreover, as private schools, they were not representative of the American mainstream and thus, except for the reputation of having demanding curricula, they were not educationally of interest to the general public. Besides these parochial schools, there did exist another avenue in some communities for those Portuguese families who insisted upon providing their children with a Portuguese education. Sporadically, the Portuguese government helped institute and sup-

port in several American communities where there was a heavy concentration of Portuguese immigrants, small schools with usually one teacher who taught the basic curriculum of reading, writing, history and culture in Portuguese. Similar to our country schoolhouse, the *Escola Oficial Portuguesa* frequently held its classes in old, dilapidated buildings or, in most cases, in back rooms and social halls of Portuguese sports clubs where rent would be free. These classes took place in the afternoon several times per week with students attending these sessions after their public school program. As a means of disseminating the language and culture of Portugal, these programs, while struggling to survive, provided an important service to the Portuguese community and were a testimony to the need for such instruction. Often, the teachers of these schools were dedicated individuals who received low wages but continued their work out of loyalty to the students and their heritage. It is this dedication that has blessed some Portuguese communities with instruction that otherwise would never have been offered.

An outstanding case of dedication and perseverance is the work of Miss Laurinda Andrade, a public high school teacher who as a determined young immigrant worked to receive a high school diploma proving that she was college material. After graduating from Pembroke and Columbia University and working in Washington, D. C., she returned to New Bedford, her adopted hometown, where in 1945 she began to teach Portuguese in the local high school. In the face of much opposition from administrators and other language departments that considered Portuguese to be less legitimate than French, Latin or German, Miss Andrade forged forth and established a four-year program with college preparatory students taking Portuguese as one of their foreign languages. The National Defense Education Act which in the late fifties declared Portuguese as one of the five critical languages to be learned was very much in concert with this teacher's efforts. Miss Andrade's work, primarily in the vein of Portuguese as a Foreign Language, nevertheless represents the spirit and desire to offer an education that identifies with a child's heritage. Her interesting autobiography, *The Open Door,* captures this spirit and the contribution she has made to Portuguese studies in the United States. Also, such commendable work heralds the movement of this decade which seeks to give every child an equal educational opportunity.

Looking at the general history of earlier Portuguese language studies on the elementary and secondary levels in American education, one can clearly see that their existence did not have national impact. (5) It is only in the early sixties that bilingual education gained the regional attention that subsequently

led to national legislation and recognition. Here we are talking about the Cuban experience in Miami and the commitment of the Cuban people to the language and culture of their origin. As political emigrés, the Cubans struggled with their own resources such as refugee funds to provide their children with an education that would reflect their cultural heritage. As a political and educationally-oriented immigrant population, the Cubans made an impact upon American public education with their implementation of bilingual schooling. This effort was noted and admired, serving as an example of community solidarity. Also, educationally the Miami project served as a model for later programs throughout the country as was the case with the first Portuguese/English bilingual maintenance program at the Fox Point Elementary School in Providence, Rhode Island.

Aware of the increasing influx of Portuguese students into the Providence School System during the sixties, ESL classes were established to assist these children in making an easier transition to regular classes. Nonetheless the Portuguese immigrant child coming into the Providence area and specifically the Portuguese neighborhood of Fox Point adjacent to Brown University, had been receiving all instruction in English. With the national bilingual legislation of 1968 and the Title VII allocation for the implementation of a few initial demonstration projects, a small group of Portuguese parents and university families living in the Fox Point area, along with educators from the Providence School Department and Brown University, met to draw up a proposal for a bilingual program to meet the needs of the Portuguese child. After being awarded a grant from the U. S. Office of Education in the Spring of 1969, bilingual education for the Portuguese was launched. As principal investigator, the Providence School Department worked jointly with a team from Brown University responsible for the teacher training and instructional components. This phase of the project immediately led to the founding of the Brown Bilingual Institute, a training program that has lasted for a decade and has worked closely with Fox Point and other Portuguese projects of Southern New England.

Following the dual-medium curricular model of the Coral Way School in Miami, the Fox Point program began with grade levels One and Two, each with an Anglo and Portuguese class, in a back-to-back format with the Portuguese and Anglo teachers sharing the curriculum of both classes and bringing the children together for group activities. This maintenance program with its team-teaching component was predicated upon the concept of skill transfer in which subject matter learned in one language was transferred to the other

without being retaught, but rather drilled and evaluated in the respective second language. (6) Equipped with a group of teachers who diligently worked to make this concept function, this program began at one point to serve as a model for other Portuguese programs given its instructional concept and the coordination among the teachers and the teacher trainers. As one other example of the success of the Fox Point experience, the first grade reading program deserves mention. Here the teaching of reading for both groups was organized in such a way as to allow for individual teaching styles and materials representative of both languages and cultures as well as a coordinated method for the teaching of reading which presented such concepts as word-attack skills with a technique that was common to and comfortable for both the Anglo and Portuguese children. The stress upon a method familiar to both groups and languages in the teaching of reading and other subject matter was made with the expressed purpose of further enhancing the transfer of skills process. Years later as the Fox Point School began their middle school program, the Portuguese students were functionally bilingual being able to perform well in all areas of the curriculum via English.

At the close of the five-year federal funding cycle in 1974, the Providence School Department then began to assume most of the costs of the program and at the same time initiated transitional bilingual education with vestiges of the earlier maintenance program still being practiced in grades One and Two. Today, as a bilingual educational program that is supported with local, state and federal funds, the Providence program still offers an instructional component in the lower grades that is efficient and well coordinated. In addition, teacher-made materials for the first grade are impressive and reflect the efforts of some dedicated personnel. On the other hand, while bilingual/bicultural instruction in Providence is being made available for the middle and high school levels, a program as well coordinated and as well staffed as the one at Fox Point has yet to materialize.

Before discussing other Portuguese projects, it would be helpful to note that one common problem to all is the role of parental involvement. Here, it is worthwhile to allude to the Fox Point experience because while there is no easy solution to the problem, this program has been partially successful in having parents participate in the decision-making process. Keeping in mind our earlier statements as to the feeling of *isolation* in the daily part of the Azoreans, the largest immigrant group in Fox Point, one can understand how it would be difficult to engage parents given that they are unaccustomed to venturing beyond home and work. Moreover, the language handicap precludes

communication, especially outside familiar surroundings. Parents encounter on a daily basis demeaning situations in which their inability to speak English causes enough embarrassment to them and their children. Visiting a school or a teacher that does not communicate in Portuguese is a humiliating experience they would prefer to avoid. Consequently, unless they are familiar with the bilingual nature of the school and are encouraged, often led, to speak with the Portuguese teacher, parents who work a hard day and/or night are not predisposed to deal with the school. At Fox Point when parents were needed for important meetings, they were contacted by the Portuguese teacher-aides who lived in the community. This door-to-door volunteer network, though demanding, resulted in familiarizing the parents with the American educational process via their own language and people. In addition, these aides served as guides bridging the cultural gap and drawing parents out of their self-enclosed world. Although the process is slow, the results can be rewarding. This problem has continuously repeated itself in many Portuguese communities and Fox Point's management of the situation is offered here as a suggestion. Of course, Fox Point is a somewhat self-contained neighborhood neatly ensconced on the East Side of the city making it geographically favorable for the establishment of an efficient internal network of communication.

Other Portuguese projects were soon funded by Title VII, thereby calling more attention to the needs of Portuguese children. By 1970, in addition to Providence, there existed Portuguese projects in New Bedford, Massachusetts, and in the ABC Unified School District outside of Los Angeles, California. Although each of these projects had a different range of instructional service given the different concentration of their school populations, both served the lower grades with special attention to the kindergarten level believed to be important for preparing the child with the proper readiness skills in his/her own language. California teachers who originally had worked on this level later produced a readiness package that has been published by the Bilingual Network of Centers.

On the East Coast, the New Bedford program is a provocative one for it witnessed open controversy in a community that has a sizeable Portuguese colony in dire need of sound bilingual instruction. Unfortunately, and despite the efforts of some Portuguese educators, the program, though successful in teaching and in a few areas of original materials such as language arts, had an uphill struggle with constant opposition from the local intelligentsia, administrators, educators, and the established community, who were wary of this educational model and who apparently harboured reservations about a special

program designed to assist the city's largest immigrant population. The mythification process as to an ethnic group's behavior and interests discussed earlier in this essay directly applies to the New Bedford experience. Stereotypical attitudes implying a Portuguese incapability for high intellectual achievement coupled with a reluctance to lend services to a group that was felt to be undeserving, summarize the tone and perspective of the established community in power. Also, with the Portuguese immigrant as historically the more notable backbone of the city's local industries, it was as if they were not expected to aspire to higher goals. Furthermore, it would not be an exaggeration to suggest that bilingual education represented a threat to the established communities of New Bedford since improved education for such a large minority could mean an eventual change in the social stratification of the city. That bilingual education was discouraged and to a certain extent outlawed, in spite of successful government funding and a State law mandating transitional bilingual education, is indicative of the misconceptions, prejudices, unconscious fears, and harm that can accumulate in the face of ignorance. Much is to be gleaned from the New Bedford scene, especially in the realm of community reaction to bilingual/bicultural education. Providentially, after the threat of litigation and the tenacity of the Civil Rights Office and the State Office of Education, New Bedford is complying and providing a just program. All of this controversy should not minimize the work of the bilingual teaching and curricular staffs who have produced elementary and middle school materials, as well as testing and audio-visual packages that merit examination for more extensive use in other projects. This type of evaluation is being completed by the National Portuguese Materials Development Center at Brown University in its study and assessment of these and other teacher-made materials.

As other programs were beginning to surface in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, different models serving the unique characteristics of each community were being developed as, for example, the trilingual project (Portuguese, Spanish and English) of Pawtucket, Rhode Island. However, the next program that merits special note is the Fall River Title VII bilingual project funded in 1972 and dynamically directed by John Correiro.

This program is of particular interest because of its overall objectives which deviated from the usual pattern of burgeoning bilingual schooling for the Portuguese. After an honest assessment of the immigrant school population pattern, the initial thrust in Fall River paved the way for meeting the needs of the middle school child. Beginning with fifth grade bilingual instruction and a pre-service training program at the Brown Bilingual Institute, the

staff proceeded to carry out long-range objectives that were most challenging. Besides the instructional component which was developed to serve between 300 and 500 Anglo and Portuguese children, the program had four other major components that reflected keen insight as to the realistic needs of the program as well as good proposal writing. In fact, the grandiose nature of the project's objectives revealed the kind of leadership and forthrightness lacking in many past educational endeavors for the Portuguese.

The most significant component of the Fall River project was materials development for language arts, science, social studies, math and ESL. A special and separate staff was employed for this component which was designed to parallel the regular Fall River curriculum for grades five through eight. With additional in-service from Project Spoke in Norton, Massachusetts, the curricular staff began to produce units (individualized packets) for each area of the curriculum. While there has been criticism as to the relevancy and vocabulary of some of these materials, one cannot negate the overall achievements in this area which to a great extent were a prelude to the activities of today's Materials Development, Assessment and Dissemination and Resource Centers of the Title VII National Bilingual Network. This curriculum staff produced forty units for each area of the curriculum and twenty for ESL. The other components, though not as outstanding as this one, struggled to make some headway in the areas of parental involvement, guidance, and staff development. Besides in-house training, the latter embarked upon a credentially-based and diploma-oriented program drawing upon Title VII Trainee and Fellowship Programs at such institutions of higher education as Boston University, Southeastern Massachusetts University and Brown. With one of the largest staffs to carry out all of its objectives, the Fall River program grew with the implementation of the State Transitional Program (TBE). However, the Fall River Title VII program had already received recognition and acclaim by 1975 when it was judged to be one of the twenty outstanding bilingual programs in the country. Nevertheless, despite all this achievement alone Fall River Title VII could not meet the needs of all the immigrant children. Lack of space, staff, and local support precluded service for more children. The familiar opposition from local administrators as to expansion of the TBE program on all levels also became a reality in Fall River. Along with the administrative resistance, the lack of space and staff also forced unprepared students to mainstream prematurely. But this resistance met opposition from local and regional bilingual educators as well as state leaders who proceeded recently with a Civil Rights Audit. As a result, the 1978-79 TBE prospectus for grades K to 12 suggests a favorable

outcome for Fall River's students.

In reviewing the Fall River program, one has to admire the dynamic leadership as well as the decision to start bilingual education on an appropriate grade level in the hope of diminishing the number of sixteen-year-old dropouts. Furthermore, the hiring of native speakers of Portuguese for vernacular teaching balanced with a good number of monolingual English teachers provided an atmosphere that was constantly trying to emphasize bilingual education in contrast to a facile ESL package usually recommended by most school committees and administrators. Moreover, the dissemination of Fall River materials and staff resources as well as their exposure at regional and national conferences demonstrated the kind of professional acumen required to render more zealous programs of advocacy for bilingual/bicultural education on the regional and national levels.

Considering the three New England States of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut of heaviest concentration, it is accurate to say that the Portuguese represent the largest immigrant group. Weekly newspapers such as *O Jornal de Fall River, The Portuguese Times,* and *The Azorean Times,* to name just a few, attest to a growing Portuguese presence and reading public. In order to provide a panoramic picture of the magnitude of this Portuguese presence and to impress upon the reader the work that has yet to be accomplished, we will now draw upon an assessment completed by the Multilingual/Multicultural Resource Center of Providence listing those communities that reflect high concentrations of Portuguese.

In Massachusetts, the Portuguese are mainly from the Azores, Continental Portugal, Madeira and Cape Verde. There, the largest concentration exists in the cities of New Bedford, Fall River, Taunton, Cambridge, Lowell, and Ludlow each with Title VII and/or TBE programs. The cities with the second largest concentration are Dartmouth, Framingham, Falmouth, Hudson, Peabody, Stoughton, and Plymouth. Despite some progress in these and other cities, more professional input, communication, and growth have to take place.

For the Cape Verdean population of Massachusetts, the cities of New Bedford, Roxbury, and Scituate, represent the largest concentration with Providence and East Providence being the largest colonies in Rhode Island. Struggling to preserve and record their Creole mother tongue while maintaining and cultivating their unique Afro-Portuguese culture, the Cape Verdean linguistic, cultural, and racial differences present their youngsters with special problems that cannot be resolved by merely placing them in a Portuguese bilingual program. The need for cultural materials in Portuguese and English,

relevant to the Cape Verdean world, would alleviate some of the alienation problems surfacing in Portuguese classrooms with the youngsters. Also, teacher training materials aimed at guiding and orienting teachers with the aid of Creole speakers (teachers and/or paraprofessionals) so that these children can make a smoother transition to English or Portuguese, or both, would be invaluable contributions in the servicing of Cape Verdean-American children. The Scituate program appears to be the one with the most expertise in this area. Also, *Tchuba*, a regional Cape Verdean social and educational organization with the assistance of local educators and scholars, has launched a campaign for cultural maintenance and the use of *crioulo* as a vehicle toward English and/or Portuguese. As the beliefs and needs of the Cape Verdean community become better known to educators, it is clear that bilingual/bicultural education is the means through which Cape Verdeans can build the most appropriate education for their children.

In Connecticut, the Portuguese hail mainly from Continental Portugal, Cape Verde, the Azores, Madeira, and Angola numbering approximately 100,000. The cities of largest concentration are Bridgeport, Hartford, Danbury, Waterbury and Naugatuck. Given the number and a less dense population, it is not surprising that there has been a slow development of Portuguese studies and resources throughout the state. Except for the University of Connecticut at Storrs and a small university program at Yale, training and resources have been provided by both state and out-of-state educators. The Multilingual/Multicultural Resource Center of Providence has been taking an increasingly active role in assisting the Portuguese programs of Connecticut.

For the State of Rhode Island, it has been estimated that at least 12% and perhaps as much as 20% of its population are of Portuguese descent. The make-up of the Ocean State communities is primarily Azorean, Madeiran, and Cape Verdean with Providence, Bristol, East Providence, and Pawtucket being the cities of largest concentration each with Title VII projects. Cities of second largest concentration are Valley Falls, Cumberland, Warren, West Warwick, Warwick, Cranston, Central Falls, Middletown and Newport. Although there are federal programs in four of this last group, the absence of local support and much-needed Bilingual State Law reveal that many of the Portuguese children in Rhode Island are not being served. The small State budget at present cannot accommodate the needs. The groundwork being accomplished by the State Bilingual Commission toward the establishment of a State Law mandating bilingual education promises to provide Rhode Island with effective legislation that is commensurate with its pioneer work in this field.

Providence as a center for Portuguese immigration and Portuguese studies continues to provide the New England region with vibrant programs offering numerous services that can strengthen the Portuguese bilingual/bicultural field. The unique cooperation and communication between the community, public school, and university programs has fostered a working relationship that has been healthy and productive. The active and ubiquitous Resource Center of Providence and the Title VII Traineeship Program and Materials Development Center at Brown University work together to offer a comprehensive program of services and resources. Recent interest at the University of Rhode Island in the area of bilingual/bicultural education and testing for Portuguese programs could lead to an invaluable contribution in this field. In short, for its size Rhode Island is most fortunate. Besides the largest Portuguese undergraduate and Brazilian Studies and Bilingual Education of Brown University, the State has several other smaller programs in such institutions as Providence College, Rhode Island College, and the University of Rhode Island.

As of this writing, there are a dozen Title VII Portuguese bilingual programs in New England – seven in Rhode Island, three in Massachusetts, and one in Connecticut. These programs serve approximately 3,500 Portuguese-speaking youngsters. Besides these model programs, there are at least twenty-five other communities that have non-Title VII bilingual programs plus others proposing new programs for the next fiscal year. Some of the latter communities launching new programs are Cumberland and Cranston, Rhode Island; Hudson, Somerville, and Framingham, Massachusetts; and Waterbury and Hartford, Connecticut. All these communities in the New England area number more than forty and reflect a growing interest and investment in bilingual/bicultural education. However, in order for these programs to have a minimum of success, it is mandatory that several forces come together. These forces or elements are local/State educational and political support, active community leaders; relevant training programs carrying on effective communication with the Bilingual Network of Centers as well as more IHE interest, support, and direction in the form of credentially-based and degree-oriented programs to provide better and more qualified personnel to maintain and defend the future of Portuguese studies in America.

Looking briefly beyond the New England area, statistics from the U. S. Census and the assessments completed by the Resource Center of Providence demonstrate that the Portuguese presence in California, New Jersey, and New York is notable and warrants educational attention. These states could profit from models, instructional materials, and training devised for the Portuguese of New England who come from the same Portuguese territorities that consti-

tute the immigration make-up of these other states.

In California, there are an estimated 350,000 people of Portuguese ancestry who have since the nineteenth century settled in such cities as Oakland, Hayward, San Leandro, San Diego, Newark, San José, Santa Clara, and Sacramento. Although the immigration influx is not as intense as it is on the East Coast, this population is striving via bilingual education to preserve its language and culture while serving those children who require bilingual/bicultural education for their survival. At this writing, California has four Title VII Portuguese programs in Chino, Hayward, San Leandro and Newark, in addition to seven other non-Title VII Portuguese programs. Experienced staff in the Hayward program in joint sponsorship with local bilingual centers and universities are building a fine network of offerings for Portuguese programs. Also, more coast-to-coast communication is uniting and strengthening the Portuguese resources of the whole country.

In New Jersey, the Board of Education reports approximately 62,000 Portuguese speakers located in Newark, Elizabeth, Harrison and Kearny. With some bilingual offerings in Bedminster and Newark, this population which has for the most part emigrated from Northern Portugal maintains strong cultural ties and supports a weekly Portuguese newspaper – *O Luso-Americano*. New Jersey has established dialog with bilingual educators in New England and in one instance contracted training services from the Brown Bilingual Institute.

In New York there is an interesting example of the growing awareness of the educational needs of the immigrants. In Mineola, a city which boasts of a population of 6,000 Portuguese, as well as in smaller communities on Long Island, bilingual services are needed. These ethnic communities originated in the 1920's and 30's when a number of unemployed Portuguese living in New Bedford migrated in order to seek employment in the construction projects of Nassau County. Now with a new Title VII bilingual program in Mineola and interaction with the programs in New England, this community is beginning to meet the needs of its youngsters.

This cursory look outside the New England area suggests a wide representation of Portuguese on both coasts and consequently, the need for more communication as well as more representative professional resources to build and guide these programs toward success. The issues of communication and stronger professional resources are most appropriate to our discussion at this point because it is time to allude to American institutions of higher education and their development of Portuguese studies vis-à-vis the Portuguese communities of America. Notwithstanding the work and contributions of eminent Luso-Brazilian scholars, large university programs as well as the small pro-

grams at such prestigious universities as Harvard and NYU, Portuguese studies programs on the university level have practically ignored the Portuguese communities of America. Local writers, poets, artists, and musicians who could have been encouraged to participate in university cultural activities have generally been overlooked. Unawareness as to the existence of such elements in the Portuguese communities has further promoted the myth that the Portuguese of America are not endowed with such resources. The same attitude applies to students who could be potential scholars. Here, the problem is definitely linked to communication and the dissemination of knowledge and opportunities among the people of these communities. In effect, this is one of the major missions of bilingual/bicultural education. Of course, without the willing cooperation of universities in their admissions programs as well as in their curricular offerings, the gap between the Portuguese and Portuguese studies will remain.

In general, Portuguese studies on the university level with a few exceptions have been overshadowed by ubiquitous Spanish departments. As a result, the struggle to establish Portuguese studies in America has been more difficult. This struggle, however, was momentarily lessened with the support of the NDEA federal language and area studies programs of the 50's and 60's which as mentioned earlier had singled out Portuguese as one of the five critical languages to be learned. Given the already mounting interest in Brazil and the language programs at such universities as Wisconsin at Madison and Texas at Austin, full-fledged undergraduate and graduate programs in Portuguese to train future teachers and scholars were instituted. Ironically, most of these federally-funded programs were established in the Midwest, South, and Southwest far away from the Portuguese communities of America and unfortunately prior to the wave of bilingual/bicultural education. Thus, university attention to these ethnic enclaves is only now beginning to surface. In the past, even with fellowships to study in universities not too distant from Portuguese communities – NYU, Queens College and UCLA, for example – the possibilities of access to these programs from the position of the uninformed and unprepared Portuguese immigrant were in most cases remote and almost inconceivable. Moreover, with native-born Americans making up the majority of the students in these university programs, the Portuguese or Luso-American students were not necessarily in demand. Needless to say, Portuguese studies programs do not have to be overpopulated with, nor dependent upon students of Portuguese or Brazilian origin for their survival. On the other hand, their linguistic and cultural presence can enrich a university program. Moreover, what

better way to interest academic departments in the sociology and culture of these communities than through their own students who have been a part of that experience? Furthermore, from whence will come the future language, literature, linguistics, sociology, and history teachers and scholars who will make a commitment to the Portuguese communities of America and thereby provide the professional expertise and scientific empiricism so desperately needed to document this sociological and cultural phenomenon? While many of these scholars could be and are Americans, the all-too-familiar condescending attitude on the part of university academicians toward these communities and their inhabitants regrettably will not disappear overnight. Therefore, an invested interest in the name of ethnic identity and involvement is most warranted. Although renowned American universities have in the past maintained an ivory tower stance with a history of little community and public school involvement, the late sixties and seventies called attention to this problem and witnessed some progress. Yet, there is much room for improvement as far as the case for the Portuguese is concerned. Though efforts by the American Association of Teachers of Spanish and Portuguese and the Modern Language Association have been noted, they have made little impact upon the relationship between language teaching, ethnicity, and bilingual/bicultural education. Meanwhile, staid, theoretically-oriented university faculty, presumably out of fear of professional embarrassment, continue to demean any contact with the public schools and/or local community. After all, it is believed that applied, relevant, and interdisciplinary programs should remain in teachers' colleges. Also, it is strongly held that relevant and interdisciplinary programs may devaluate the caliber of a hard-core, in-depth university curriculum in a given area. Unfortunately, some university communities can also be accused of mythification! Instead of coming to the realization that contact and communication with the social and educational communities outside the university could be an additional component in an undergraduate and graduate program, most university departments prefer to close their doors to such innovation. The idea of a high caliber Portuguese academic program with cultural activities and services to the community characterizes the type of challenging and exhilarating education necessary for the mutual growth of both local and university communities. As an example, the Center for Portuguese and Brazilian Studies and Bilingual Education at Brown University has programs that are striving toward this goal and commitment.

In this era of social awareness, scientific empiricism, and community service, a university program cannot afford to overlook the outside community

where there is much to be learned. As we become more academically sophisticated, just the potential linguistic and cultural resources alone should make scholars and university administrators stand up and take note. The bilingually as opposed to foreign language-trained students entering our universities today arrive with a language preparation that suggests more advanced studies at an earlier stage where even a bilingual university curriculum could materialize and make a significant contribution to the advancement of language study in the United States. Moreover, the presence of a larger number of bilingual students on university campuses can only help to broaden the linguistic and cultural talents and horizons of monolingual American students.

The multicultural society exists and we must consequently prepare ourselves to communicate properly with the different peoples that come into our daily lives. The mythification and stereotyping will only disappear with more available and documented knowledge of the ethos of a given people. With all due respect to teachers' colleges and education programs, it is naive to believe that only personnel trained in the field of Education are going to be the salvation for these bilingual programs and communities. Just as important as it is to recognize the influence of the economic, social, and political forces upon the status of these communities and the types of people equipped to deal with these areas, it is equally important to work toward the establishment of an intelligentsia that will provide the knowledge and the tools for a more comprehensive and realistic picture of a people's ways and means. In the case of the Portuguese with the lackluster immigrant image so difficult for them to overthrow in the past, it is crucial at this point in time for them to move ahead while the climate is increasingly more opportune.

As we have seen, the Portuguese immigrant community in America is being better served and thus is benefitting from America's offerings. The number of Portuguese newspapers, radio and TV programs alone suggests the beginning of a more literate and better informed community that is developing in a bilingual/bicultural direction. With communities such as the Portuguese, America cannot negate the existence of a multicultural society. In discouraging these communities from building bilingual/bicultural programs, we Americans will unconsciously reveal how multiculturally deprived we really are. Failing to recognize that linguistically handicapped and intellectually incompetent are not synonymous, only proves that we have not learned from our errors of the past. For the Portuguese communities of America, this realization alone will ensure a more humane and just treatment for them in the future. Concomitantly, the development of Portuguese studies on all levels can be *the* important step toward that realization.

NOTES

(1) Several texts offer historical resumés of the Portuguese presence in the United States. The more interesting to date are Sandra Wolforth, *The Portuguese in America,* (San Francisco, California: R and E Research Association, Inc., 1978), and Leo Hap's short introduction to his *Portuguese-American Speech,* (New York: Kings Crown Press, Columbia University, 1949). A definitive historical text has yet to be published.

(2) James Adler, *Ethnic Minorities in Cambridge – I. The Portuguese.* Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1972.

(3) Sandra Wolforth, *The Portuguese in America,* Op. cit., pp. 97-98.

(4) The four paragraphs that follow, in addition to several statements made in the next two pages, are taken from another essay by this author entitled «Overcoming Differences» to be published in a forthcoming 1979 issue of *International Migration Review* edited by Lois Monteiro.

(5) For a historical picture of foreign language and bilingual education in the United States, see Theodore Andersson and Mildred Boyer (eds.), *Bilingual Schooling in the United States,* 2 vols. (Washington, D. C.: USGPO, 1970).

(6) Nelson H. Vieira, «The Bilingual Classroom: A Clinic for Foreign Language Teaching,» *Hispania,* 54 (1971) pp. 902-907.

Minority Status for the Portuguese: Its Implications in Higher Education

Gilbert R. Cavaco
Providence College

As a consequence of an article in which I presented arguments in favor of the Portuguese as a national minority in higher education, it was suggested that I elaborate further on the topic and examine the implications of minority status for the Portuguese in higher education. In my first article, I argued that the Portuguese have the same basic educational problems as the minority groups recognized for affirmative action on the college and university levels of education. In this article, I shall discuss the advantages the Portuguese would have if they were included in the affirmative action plan. Those advantages would be the same as they are for the «recognized» minority groups.

I have purposely accentuated the phrase «minority status for the Portuguese in higher education» because this is the specific area of concern I have investigated. Likewise, «minority status for the Portuguese in higher education» does not imply, nor should it, a blanket minority status for the Portuguese in other areas of our society, for it is possible for a racial, ethnic or linguistic group to be disadvantaged in one area and not be in another.

When I speak of «The Portuguese,» I am referring to « . . . persons who are from environments in which a dominant language is other than English and who, as a result of language barriers and cultural differences, do not have an equal educational opportunity, . . . » as defined in *The Emergency School Aid Act* in which the Portuguese are identified as a «minority group» for purposes of bilingual-bicultural education. The other groups identified as minorities are considered for affirmative action in higher education by the Federal Inter-agency Committee on Education (FICE). The Portuguese, however, are not included in their affirmative action plan. This is the basis of our concern.

One of the basic problems the Portuguese encounter when applying to a college or university are the SAT (Scholastic Aptitude Test) scores.

For a student not identified as a minority, a score of 429 is considered average on the verbal section. The average score on the math section is 471. A score of 350 is considered average for minority students but this score is used arbitrarily and may vary from institution to institution. This does not mean that minority students do not have to comply with the established standards of an individual institution. «Minority» is not synonymous with «inferiority.» What it does mean is that admissions personnel are aware of extenuating circumstances (language barriers and cultural differences) with respect to minority applicants and use a score of 350 as a rule of thumb because it is more representative of the average for students who come from environments in which the dominant language is other than English. In effect, then, the SAT score is not weighed as heavily as it is for non-minority students. High school performance is very important and a student's high school record would probably be given more consideration by a committee on admissions than the SAT scores. Letters of support from teachers who have observed the student's progress and motivation in the high school are also important and should be included with the application, especially letters from teachers of English, Math and Science and History. High school teachers could further help these applicants by indicating the number of students who received A's, B's, C's, etc. Admissions personnel are influenced by the standing in class of every student. Also, because of the affirmative action plan of the FICE, committees on admissions are apt to be more positive in evaluating an application from a minority student, the more information it has. There are no guidelines which standardize this procedure. It is left to the discretion of the individual institution.

Admissions personnel are made aware that an applicant is from one of the recognized minority groups because the student is given the opportunity to indicate his predominant ethnic background on the application for admission. A typical application might include the following:

PREDOMINANT ETHNIC BACKGROUND

This information will be used to compile data to be released only as unidentifiable portions of statistical reports requested of educational institutions by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare under the Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This section to be completed by U.S. citizens only.

White (non-Hispanic) _____

Black (non-Hispanic) _____

Hispanic _____

Asian or Pacific Islander _____

American Indian _____

Alaskan Indian _____

The FICE uses this information to compile the *Higher Education General Information Survey* (HEGIS). Although a student is not required to provide this information, if he is a minority it is to his benefit to do so as admissions personnel take into account a student's minority status when evaluating SAT scores and requests for financial aid. Except for the first category, all are listed as minority groups under Title VII as are the Portuguese who were excluded from the affirmation action plan of the FICE. As of this writing, I still do not know why.

Most students fall into the category of «White (non-Hispanic)» and the FICE considers the Portuguese as part of this category as well as the French-Canadians, Italians, Asian Indians, etc. The FICE REPORT, Volume 2, Number 1 of May 19, 1975 states the following:

> «The report of the Ad Hoc Committee points out that there are two ways to obtain racial and ethnic information: observer-identification and self-identification. The Committee noted that, when possible, it is preferable to have an individual identify his racial or ethnic background himself. When this is not feasible, as in civil rights compliance surveys, an observer's determination of an individual's racial or ethnic heritage must be accepted.

Some administrators to whom I spoke believed that the Portuguese were identifying themselves as Hispanic. Some students told me that they did not indicate any category on the application but wrote in «Portuguese.» I am not sure if this got them any special consideration. I do know that some

institutions in this area as a matter of private policy do give the Portuguese special consideration in admissions and financial aid.

The other basic problem the Portuguese student faces is financial need. There are any number of scholarships available to him as to any other student with financial need but as a minority he would also be eligible to participate in those programs which are reserved for minorities. In 1965 the *Education Opportunity Act* established funds for scholarship aid to college students and directors of financial aid programs in the various institutions were encouraged to seek out and help minority students. Also, *The Martin Luther King Program* assists qualified undergraduate minority students. Awards are made on the basis of need and academic potential. This program assists all minorities, not just Black students. It is not commonly known that the Portuguese can apply for aid under this program even though they are not considered a national minority. In an area such as ours where large concentrations of Portuguese reside, they are considered a local ethnic minority and are eligible to participate in this program. In other areas of the country they would most likely not be considered. Two other pieces of information not commonly known are that the application fee is usually waived for minority students and they are usually given some priority in housing on campus. The implications of minority status for the Portuguese in higher education, therefore, would include a better chance of getting into the college of your choice and a better chance of receiving financial aid, anywhere in the U.S.

In May of 1977, when I began to gather information for my first article on the Portuguese as a national minority in higher education, I wrote a number of letters to key personnel in various federal agencies in Washington which many area political figures identified for me, as per my request for aid in this project. I received answers to all of my letters and also many documents dealing with my requests for information. One letter and one document are of special interest. In his letter to me of May 18, 1978, Mr. Albert L. Alford, Assistant Commissioner for Legislation stated:

> «We have learned from OMB (Office of Mangement and Budget) that the FICE work did not include Portuguese in the Hispanic category, and that in fact they are counted in the category of 'Other White . . . '

. . . . . .

> Finally we have some difficulty with a phrase used in your most recent letters, namely; '... the establishment of minorities in higher education.' Except for the *Emergency School Aid Act*, which is aimed at elementary and secondary school students, and other legislation dealing specifically with desegregation and/or the elimination of minority group isolation, most of this Agency's programs have been targeted to educationally disadvantaged children or those from low-income families or with financial need without regard for racial or ethnic classifications. We realize that a good number of those eligible for, and participating in these programs are members of one or another racial, ethnic or linguistic group. But this is not generally the primary qualification for such participation.»

I agree that this should be the case. But, is it really the case? The FICE's affirmative action plan does not include the Portuguese. This means that they are not given the same consideration on SAT scores given to those groups identified in the HEGIS report for affirmative action. Before you can participate in these programs you must first be accepted to an institution of higher education. Although the primary purpose of the HEGIS report is to collect data, it nonetheless identifies specific racial, ethnic or linguistic groups which are nationally accepted as minority groups (except for the first category) for affirmative action in higher education. College admissions personnel are influenced by this identification and consequently it appears that racial, ethnic or linguistic factors are the primary qualification for general participation in such programs and not, as Mr. Alford stated,« ... not generally the primary qualification for such participation.»

In a «Memorandum to College and University Presidents» from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, dated November 1975, we read: «In August 1975 the Office of Civil Rights, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, distributed a Memorandum to College and University Presidents which transmitted the newly developed Department of Labor 'Format for Development of an Affirmative Action Plan by Institutions of Higher Education.' ...» Now, the question is, what is «Affirmative Action?» As I understand it, it is an attempt to correct a terrible imbalance in our society with respect to equal educational opportunities. The imbalance has been identified as existing within certain racial, ethnic or linguistic groups

which according to their numbers are not fully represented in higher education, and consequently, not represented in the so called «learned» professions. The Portuguese fall into this category, for even in those areas where they are numerically a majority, they are a minority in these professions.

The Portuguese also have educationally disadvantaged children who are from low-income families or with financial need. The problem the Portuguese are facing is that even if they have no need of financial assistance, which is rare, they can't get into the college of their choice because, although they are educationally disadvantaged, their SAT scores are judged as though there were no «extenuating circumstances» and, therefore, not considered under the affirmative action plan of the FICE and, consequently, institutions of higher education.

If the Portuguese were given some consideration for purposes of higher education, it would give them some leverage in getting past the SAT scores and make available funds which are earmarked for minority students, in addition to scholarship aid available to any student in need. Until the Portuguese are given this consideration, they will never breech the walls of academia and get the necessary training to enter those professions which have, for the most part, been closed to them. But, it is the Portuguese themselves who must decide if «minority status» is the way to solve the problem.

The Luso-American Limbo: Closer to Heaven or Hell?

Ana M. Fonseca
Fall River Schools

INTRODUCTION

Like many other immigrants, we uprooted ourselves in hopes of finding the American Dream. We sacrificed what we had for that elusive «something better». We suffered the disillusion; conflicts and sorrow that any stranger feels when in a strange land. Not only must we try to understand this strange language, this concrete world, and its novel customs, but we must decipher what our own children have become. They are no longer Portuguese children growing up in Santa Barbara, São Miguel; they have grown up in Fall River, Mass., have attended American schools and have been bombarded by the «American culture». Our children are not Portuguese, nor are they Americans. They have become victims of the battle between both cultures and are now residing in «Limbo» (often referred to as marginality or bi-cognition). (1)

This state of Limbo in which many children find themselves, its causes, consequences, and implications are what this paper attempts to deal with. The role of the educational system is emphasized due to the influence it has upon these adolescents and the possible role it may play in making Limbo a good place to be. Certainly there are many other aspects of the immigrant experience that are important, but for the purposes of this paper, I will delve only into those factors which are relevant to the rural Portuguese adolescents who now reside in the United States and are part of the educational system.

It is my contention that Portuguese adolescents have the possibility of becoming better people as a result of this marginality. One's marginality can become an asset if value clarification courses, effective counseling, support systems, and positive role models are provided by the educational system. After exposure to such a program, the adolescent will then be able to select the best from both worlds and consciously choose what to accept and what to reject from both value systems. Exploring alternatives and consciously making choices will result in the creation of an individual who is secure in his / her self identity. She / He will gain greater freedom, greater flexibility, greater openness to others and to life situations.

But for this to happen, educators must intervene on behalf of these adolescents and provide a curriculum that offers guidance, directed self-exploration, and ways which aid in eliminating the negative social and psychological consequences which often result when the American culture encounters the adolescents' native culture and values.

PORTUGUESE STUDENTS AND THE AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

It is a recognized fact that schools, in addition to teaching the 3 R's foster the development of a student's attitudes, self-concepts and values even though this is not explicitly stated in any curriculum guide. The research done by Aspy (2), Mosher and Sprinthall (3) proves that the educational process influences the student's self-concept and value system.

« . . . Schools, in an indirect and unrecognized manner, affect how the student sees himself, his competencies, his worth and prospects as a human being . . . » (4)

Fantini with Weinstein (5), and Minuchin (6) refer to this affective aspect of the educational process as the «hidden curriculum». This «hidden curriculum» tends to reinforce and reward the students who exemplify the «dominant American» value system and penalizes those who do not overtly conform to that system.

As the documentation of the existence of the hidden curriculum increases, so does the realization that the schooling process can have negative psychological effects upon students. This is especially true for Portuguese students since their background may not adequately prepare them to function and succeed within American schools.

> Studies of this phehomenon (hidden curriculum) . . . suggest that schools are educating students' attitudes, self-concepts, values; that there is significant «hidden curriculum» of this nature accompanying formal academic instruction that has much to do with the student's psychological development . . . The school, at minimum, reinforces the child in the psychological advantages or disadvantages with which he enters it, and may often negate expectations for a large group of children (especially poor blacks and poor whites). In short, teachers are, whether they realize it or not, psychological educators. (7)

The values that are fostered by the «hidden curriculum» are autonomy, achievement, individualism, competition, mobility, success, and the importance of education.

For the Portuguese student, the «hidden curriculum» often conflicts with the values learned in his/her ethnic background. This disparity can cause misunderstanding, conflicts, or even pathological symptoms which can effect the student's self-concept, academic and social performance. The causes of these conflicts and their subsequent effects are examined in the proceeding section.

PRIMARY AND SOCIAL REFERENCE GROUPS IN CONFLICT

Prior to continuing this discourse, I feel it is necessary that I give clear definitions for the terms I will be using. Social reference group refers to the group that sets up the standards by which an individual measures him/herself. The social reference group for the Portuguese adolescents who have immigrated is the «dominant American» society as portrayed by the school, peers, and community. The primary reference group refers to the student's immediate family and the home socialization process.

It seems obvious that conflicts will arise for those students who are situated between their primary reference group and their social group in a form of differential socialization. De Vos wrote of the importance of the inter-relationship of an individual and his/her primary and social reference group in the formation of a positive identity and self-concept.

> « . . . self-identity is shaped and supported by the nature of the basic social reference group, as well as by a basic continuity in the modified functioning of ego mechanisms which are developed within the primary family. Social self-identity (or the way a person sees himself relating to other people) helps determine the choices that a person makes among alternative means of coping with his environment . . . » (8)

To accept some of the values set up by the «dominant American» society is to develop a self-image that can isolate the individual from his/her primary group without ensuring any direct acceptance by the social reference group. Because of this differential socialization, the Portuguese student will have a difficult time receiving validation of a positive self-image from either reference group. This may lead to confusion in deciding what is appro-

priate, feelings of alienation from both reference groups, and the formation of a negative self-image that will adversely effect his/her mode of relating to the world.

This situation produces a new type of person who is often referred to as a «Luso-American». She/He is a mixture of both cultures. This state will not be one of crisis if these students are assisted in developing an awareness of these conflicts. It is possible for them to develop and maintain a positive self-image as Luso-Americans who are both Portuguese and American.

There is not much data to support this positive bi-cultural hypothesis since most of the research done in the area of marginality originates from the viewpoint that marginality is abnormal and therefore is a problem. The milieu existent at the time of marginality research work was very antagonistic towards a pluralist theory. At that time, there was considerable support for the Anglo-conformity theory (9) and the melting pot theory (10). These theories stressed conformity to the dominant American society; acceptance was withheld until a person could «cleanse» him/herself of his/her background and become assimilated into the dominant culture. Much has been written on the weaknesses of ethnic minorities but little space has been designated to describe their strengths. Culturally different children have been regarded as culturally deprived and little has been said or researched about their positive potentialities. Now that ethnicity and pluralism (11) has been validated and the melting pot theory challenged, I believe that future research will support my premise.

«Gradually more and more social scientists and educators are recognizing the positive values of the marginal child. (12)»

CULTURE AND IDENTITY

A brief discussion of culture and identity is warranted so that one may better understand the inter-relationship of the two. Conflicts and problems may arise from the interacting of two different cultures especially in a person whose self-identity has not been completely formulated prior to the exposure to the second culture. The first section will be an overview of the development of identity through culture. A summary of the dominant value system, (13) the Portuguese value system, (14) and the Luso-American value system (15) is discussed in section two.

Culture can be broadly defined as a set of stable, habitual preferences and priorities in a person's attention and behavior as well as in his/her thoughts and feelings. People within a certain culture tend to share the same assumptions about their environment. Each culture structures the behavior and

shapes the attitudes of its members. (16) Kiev cited studies which demonstrate that culturally institutionalized facts have an important role in influencing established behavior: it defines what is right or wrong, appropriate or inappropriate. (17)

Values are derived from the culture which in turn is developed from the relationship of the people to their land and the knowledge they acquire through that relationship. Norms are set standards against which a person must measure him/herself. Through individual motivation, a person internalizes the objective world by interacting with it. She/He objectifies reality and aims toward this internalization of values and norms. The ultimate product of this process is identity. (18)

The self-concept is the sum total of roles which allow an individual to attain identity. During the selection of roles, the person confronts his/her limitations. Often these limitations are imposed by the primary reference group or the social reference group; these limitations are perceived as real by the individual. Negative or positive self-identity emerges at this stage.

Having established a working definition of the inter-relationship of culture and identity, I will proceed onto section two of this segment: an examination of the difference of the Portuguese, dominant American, and Luso-American value systems.

Stewart, Danielson, and Festes (19) have described the dominant American value system using five assumptions that exemplify the traits that are typically ascribed to the American culture.

1. Self-expression in the American society takes place in an «activity modality» of doing. Activity should result in internalized visible accomplishment.

2. Social relationships emphasize equality and informality.

3. Achievement is a prime motivating force. A person is what a person achieves by objective, visible, and measurable criteria.

4. The world is viewed as an object to be exploited or developed for the material benefit of man. Man is clearly separated from this form of nature-life and has a responsibility to control nature rather than to live in harmony with it or be subjugated by it.

5. The rights, values and importance of an individual's identity are

implicit in the dominant American welfare. In child-rearing, socialization and education, individual achievement and autonomy are encouraged so children will develop their own opinions and solve their own problems.

The Portuguese culture's view of the preceding value system differs in the following ways: (20)

1. Instead of the «Activity modality», the «being-in becoming» orientation that stresses experience rather than accomplishment is more a part of the Portuguese value system.

2. Social relationships are characterized by an emphasis upon inequality, formality, status, and designated roles.

3. An emphasis upon place of birth, family background, heritage, or traditional status is viewed as being of more importance than personal accomplishment.

4. The world view of the Portuguese is not as optimistic as the American view. It is more fatalistic in nature.

5. Dependency and conformity are stressed. There is a tendency to use external, formal, authoritative controls. Coercion and guilt are part of these controls.

Clearly the Portuguese rural culture and the dominant American culture have some basic differences. The Luso-American must contend with these differences. She/He internalizes values from both cultures. She/He may be torn between desires to gain status and role validation from the American culture, but still want the stable, positive inter-relationship and role validation that is provided by the primary family group. The product is a nearly schizophrenic individual.

Due to the student's failure to realize the social reference group's goals as well as the goals of the primary reference group many Portuguese students may slip into a life of apathetic resignation, passivity, alienation and a lack of self worth. It takes a great deal of extra zeal and energy to

counteract these negative effects of cultural interchange.

THE RURAL PORTUGUESE ADOLESCENT

A closer look at the Portuguese adolescents who are the subject of this paper is warranted. This paper suggests that an analysis of the home socialization process and background prior to immigrating to the United States is imperative to the understanding of the confusion and conflicts that are part of their daily existence in this newly adopted homeland.

Due to the lack of systematic and published material about the Portuguese adolescent, this analysis relies heavily upon my own observations, field notes, and quantative studies of the Portuguese adolescents in Fall River, Mass.

BACKGROUND PRIOR TO IMMIGRATING TO THE UNITED STATES

Most of the students in my study come from the island of São Miguel which is part of the Açorean Islands. São Miguel is the largest of the nine islands it is located approximately 875 miles west of Lisbon.

These students are coming from a predominantly agricultural economy which by most economic standards is pre-industrial. Most have not traveled outside of the island prior to departing for the United States. They come from relatively poor families although most owned a small plot of land in the grassy hills. They were village folk; their world view was limited to their small village and an occasional visit to the city. These adolescents come from a simple agrarian lifestyle that was largely untouched by technology. It is only within the last year that most of the villages of São Miguel (the most developed island of the archipelago) have received electricity and running water.

The life experiences of these adolescents will be different from those of the upper and middle class adolescent living in a more developed environment. It is important to note that the values attributed to the rural Portuguese immigrant and exemplified by them are not exclusive to the Portuguese culture. These characteristics cut across ethnic lines. Many of these values can be found in any rural society.

These rural adolescents were uprooted from their relatively stagnant society and transplanted in the United States so that they may engage in the pursuit of the «American Dream and Dollar».

HOME SOCIALIZATION

The Portuguese family is an extended family with strong ties that bind

all members into a closely knit group. These ties seem to impose certain obligations: obedience to the head of the family (usually the father), respect, affection, and dependency upon the family unit for financial and emotional support. The family unit acts as a cooperative; each member contributes to its economic support. In the Açores, this is exemplified by the involvement of all members in the production of the staples for the family. All family members have chores delegated to them and the execution of these tasks is important to the well being of the family unit. In the United States, this characteristic is demonstrated by the fact that the family expects the children to become wage earners as soon as it is feasibly possible. This latter aspect accounts in part for the large percentage of school drop-outs among this socio-economic group.

The Portuguese family is based upon a patriarchal system. Family authority within the nucleus unit is reserved for the father. Upon the death of the father, this authority goes to the eldest son. The Portuguese father figure is seen as a stern disciplinarian within the family; his word is law, he is the boss! Although the father is the authority figure, the mother actually exercises more control over the rearing of the children and household matters. Thus, with reference to child rearing and domestic affairs, the Portuguese family could be considered a matriarchal system.

Another important role that a mother exhibits is her role of liaison between the father and the children.

The division of labor within the Portuguese home is sharply differentiated by sexual identity. In addition, the child rearing practices are also dependent upon the child's sex. There are differenct role expectations for males and females. Males have a more prestigious status than do the females. The male is given a great amount of freedom, whereas girls are closely supervised and are taught that their role should be one of submission to the male. Portuguese girls are trained for the home; the boys, for the world. The Portuguese have an old saying, «Tudo é dado aos homens e estranhado as mulheres» (All is expected of men, but unacceptable for women). The male's and female's role expectations are explicitly defined and any deviation from the «norm» is considered a threat to the well being of the family as a whole.

A person's actions reflect upon the family. Children are encouraged to participate in adult life (especially to take on adult responsibility) as soon as possible. Their childhood is not prolonged by schooling.

RESULTS OF HOME SOCIALIZATION

The type of socialization that rural Portuguese children generally receive at home is not conducive to the development of the capacities later needed for advancement in a dynamic industrialized society. This type of upbringing creates stumbling blocks to future achievement since it stresses values that hinder mobility, i.e. family ties, honor, living in the past. It further neglects the values that are conducive to mobility, i.e. achievement, independence, and deferred gratification.

Few rural families stress higher education. The lack of parental encouragement to pursue a formal education may also be directly traced to the parents' belief that higher education is useless for their children. It wasn't necessary in the Old Land, why here? They made it without formal education, why can't their children? The parents, as well as some of the children, also believe that the more education a child gets, the further alienated he/she will become from the family. In the new found freedom which results from higher education, the children suddenly appear more American and therefore seem strangers to their parents. The more «educated» children no longer accept the old ways without question.

If the Portuguese adolescent is to succeed in the dominant American society, and simultaneously avoid alienating him/herself from the Portuguese family and culture, intervention is needed. The children, as well as the parents, must be helped to look at culture objectively and decide what their goals are and how to proceed in resolving the conflicts that may result from trying to attain these goals.

INFORMAL SELF-CONCEPT TEST FOR PORTUGUESE BILINGUAL STUDENTS

The purpose of this test was to help evaluate the problem areas of the Luso-American. There is ample evidence to support the notion that great caution must be exercised when standardized psychological tests are used with students from cultures outside the northern European and American cultures. (21)

The issues surrounding this problem of testing revolve around three key areas in addition to the ever present translation problem. These three areas are as follows:

1. the construction/criterion controversy

2. the issue of verbal versus nonverbal stimuli in testing

3. the use of norms on populations other than those for which the test was standardized

I feel that this paper is not the forum from which one could expound upon these problems. I recommend the following books to those who wish to delve into the difficulties of intercultural assessment: Brislin, Lonner and Thorndike (22) and Cronbach and Dunth (23). (My purpose here is not to discuss this issue but to mention it as the reason which prompted me to develop my own testing instrument.)

After examining a variety of psychological assessment instruments, I decided to develop an informal self-concept testing instrument for the Luso-American. The tests that influenced my format and helped me design the SCTLA (Self-concept Test for Luso-Americans) (24) were the following: MMPI (25), ACCENT (26), BITCH (27), and MISPI (28).

The testing instrument is composed of five segments: family, peers, school, community, and self-identity. Each section contains eighteen to twenty-three questions. The test is multiple choice except for the last part which is sentence completion. It contains many specifically culture-related items that may present problems to the Luso-American population. It was developed in English and in Portuguese. (29)

The test was administered to 187 students, grades 8-12. The students were all immigrant children who ranged in age from thirteen to eighteen years old. The time that they had spent in the United States ranged from two weeks to nine years.

No attempt was made to validate the reliability of this test. I did not use a control population. In analyzing the results, there were complex variables such as age, time in the United States, economical and social background that were not taken into account. The test was administered by the classroom teacher to his/her whole class.

The results indicated that many students were having problems in the areas of family, peers, and school. The sentence completion section indicated some negative feelings in regards to being Portuguese.

The rationale for embarking upon this evaluative procedure was that the results could then be used to justify the need to implement some curricula to deal with the conflicts the students were experiencing. (30)

CONCLUSION

Obviously some steps have been taken to alleviate the problems that Portuguese as well as other ethnic bilingual students experience in school. The passage of the Federal Bilingual Education Act in 1967, as well as the Transitional Program in Massachusetts, has tried to provide for the full participation of non-English speaking students in the academic arena. School systems have complied with the letter of the law in regards to providing academics, but they have failed miserably in providing psychological guidance and presenting avenues for which the bilingual students can deal with the conflicts and possible negative consequences of the integration of the native culture with the dominant American culture.

The failure of the bilingual program to address itself to this aspect of education is evident by the ever present high drop-out rate of Portuguese bilingual students. Educators must ask why these students do not continue and succeed in the academic process. Given the fact that these bilingual students now have the opportunity to learn English as they continue to develop their cognitive skills in their native language, the drop-out rate should have declined considerably. Scholastic performance should have noticeably improved.

There are many factors involved in this issue, but it is my contention that among the central factors are the culturally related values about school which are held by both the student and his/her family. Further, the «hidden curriculum» and the conflicts it presents to this student population are also at the core of the problem.

It is my hope that this paper has demonstrated the need for educators to focus upon and create curricula which can be implemented and aid the Portuguese bilingual student to eliminate many of the negative consequences that may arise from being marginal.

The following course objective and format attempts to depict one possible avenue as to how this affective education can be undertaken.

IMPLEMENTATION OF A VALUES-CLARIFICATION COURSE

It is suggested that this course be offered in the junior and/or high school level. It could be offered under the auspices of the guidance department or the bilingual program. The person offering the course should be familiar with the concepts and philosophy of values clarification and should be a native Portuguese so that he/she can easily empathize with the students.

FORMAT

The course would meet twice a week. Students would be granted one credit. The only requirement would be attendance and participation in the class. Part of the class time would be spent in a large group and the remaining time would be spent in small groups.

OBJECTIVES OF COURSE

1. To deal with the feelings of inadequacy and negative self-concept brought about by immigration from a rural community to cities like Fall River or New Bedford

2. To develop an understanding of the culturally determined American value system

3. To develop an understanding of the importance of language, culture, and ethnicity in the development of a positive self-concept

4. To develop an understanding of the conflicts, problem areas, culture shock and barriers that are the results of the different value orientation of the Portuguese and the dominant American culture

5. To break down the barriers to cross-cultural understanding and acceptance

6. To identify and understand the non-verbal communication that may aid or hinder positive communication and interaction

7. To learn non-verbal communication cues of the dominant American society

8. To learn to validate one another and themselves

9. To explore career as well as personal goals

10. To learn how to deal with guilt feelings created through the rejection of parental values

11. To learn how to deal with sex roles with relationship to the Portuguese culture

12. To develop a positive self-concept

13. To create an atmosphere in which a person can air existing problems

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Andrade, L. C., 1968. *The Open Door*, Reynolds-DeWalt, New Bedford, Massachusetts.

Aspy, D., 1969. «The effect of teacher-offered conditions of empathy, positive regard and congruance upon student achievement», *Florida Journal of Education*, Vol. 11.

Barnouw, V., 1973. *Culture and Personality*, Dorsey Press, Homewood, Illinois.

Bennett, G., Seashore, H. G. & Wesman, A. G., Specimen Set of Tests, Psychological Corporation, New York.

Blocher, D., 1966. *Developmental Counseling*, Ronald Press, New York.

Bristin, R. W., Lonner, W. J. & Thorndike, R. M., 1973. *Cross - Cultural Research Methods*. John Wilry and Sons, New York.

Cerhuff, R., 1972. *The Art of Helping: A guide for developing helping skills for parents, teachers and counselors*, Human Resource Development Press, Amherst, Mass.

Coopersmith, S., 1967. *The Antecedents of Self Esteem*, W. H. Freeman Company, San Francisco.

Corsini, R., 1973. *Current Psychotherapies*, F. E. Peacock, Inc., Itasca, Illinois.

Cronback, L. J. and Drenth, P. J. D. (ED), 1972, *Mental Tests and Cultural Adaptation*, Hague; Mouton.

Cutilriro, J., 1971. *A Portuguese Rural Society*, Clarendon Press, Oxford.

Deutsch, K. W., 1953. *Nationalism and Social Communication*, Wiley Press.

DeVos, G., 1967. *Conflicts Dominance and Exploitation in Human Systems of Social Segregation*, In De Reuck and Knight (Eds), *Conflicts in Society*, Churchill, London.

Erikson, E., 1956. *Childhood and Society*, W. W. Norton, New York.

Fantini, M. & Weinstein, G., 1968. *The Disadvantaged: Challenge to Education*, Harper & Row, New York.

Finney, J. C. (ED), 1967. *Culture Change, Mental Health, and Poverty*, Simon & Schuster, New York.

Giordano, J., 1973. *Ethnicity and Mental Health Problems*, National Project in Ethnic America, New York.

Greely, A. M., 1971. *Why Can't They Be Like Us?* E. P. Dutton & Co., New York.

Kiev, A., 1969. «Transcultural Psychiatry Research Problems and Perspectivess», included in Plog and Edgerton (Ed.), *Changing Perspectives in Mental Health*, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, New York.

Kidder, L. H., and Steward, U. M., 1975. *The Psychology of Intergroup Relations: Conflicts and Consciousness*, McGraw Hill, New York.

Kohlberg, L., & Gilligan, C., 1971. «The Adolescent as a Philosopher. The Discovery of the Self in a Post Conventional World.» *Daedalus*, No. 100 pp 1051-1086.

Kohlberg, L., & Turiel, E., 1972. «Development as the Aim of Education», *The Harvard Education Review*, No. 42, pp 449-496.

Lincoln, J. C., 1920. *The Portygee*, D. Appleton, New York.

Manaster, G. J. & Havighurst, R. J., 1972. *Cross-National Research: Social-Psychological Methods and Problems*, Houghton-Mifflin Company, Boston.

Mosher, R. & Sprinthall, N., 1970. «Psychological Education in Secondary Schools: A Program to Promote Individual and Human Development» *American Psychologist*, No. 25, pp 911-924.

Mosher, R. & Sprinthall, N., 1971. «Psychological Education: A Means to Promote Personal Development During Adolescence. *The Counseling Psychologist*, No. 2, pp 3, 81.

Novak, M., 1973. *The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics*, Macmillan Company, New York.

Raths, L., Harmin, M., & Simon, S. B., 1966. *Values and Teaching*, Pennant Press, San Diego.

Reisman, 1950. *The Lonely Crowd*, Yale University Press, New Haven.

Seward, G., 1970. *Clinical Studies in Cultural Conflicts*, Ronald, New York.

Simon, S. B., Howe, & Kirschenbaum, 1972. *Values Clarification: A Handbook of Practical Strategies for Teachers and Students*, Pennant Press, San Diego.

Sizemore, B. A., 1972. «Social Science and Education for a Black Identity», Banks and J. D. Brambs, (Ed.), *Black Self-Concept, Implications for Education and Social Science*. McGraw-Hill, New York.

Sprinthall, N., 1975. «A Curriculum for Secondary Schools: Counselors as Teachers for Psychological growth.» *The School Counselor*, No. 30, 361-369.

Steiner, S., 1969. *La Raza*, Harper & Row, New York.

Steward, E. C., 1975. *American Cultural Patterns: A Cross-Cultural Perspective*, International Communications Network, Pottsburg, Pa.

Vander, Zanden, J. W., 1972. American Minority Relations, Ronald, New York.

DeVos, G., 1970. «Minority Groups Identity», Finney, J. C., *Culture Change, Mental Health and Poverty*, Simon & Schuster, New York.

Minuchin, P., 1969. *The Psychological Impact of Schooling Experience*, Basic Books, New York.

Simões, A., *A Study of Culture-When Do Primary Values Take Effect In Children?*, paper prepared for the Third Multi-Lingual Multi-Cultural Conference. (Hunter College).

APPENDIX

Sample of Exercises to be used with Luso-American Students:

EXERCISE:

1. List values you have. Leave spaces between each value.
   What is important to you ? For example:
   having friends
   having a car
   having nice clothes
   being on your own
   getting good grades
   having dates
   being honest and loyal
   having freedom
   getting a good job
   having your parents respect you
   being liked by your peers
   going to school

2. Indicate value:
   1. After each value write an * to indicate you think your parents share the same values.
   2. Which values do you feel you received from your parents?
   3. Which values go against the values of the Portuguese culture?

EXERCISE:

1. Write an essay entitled «Nearly Every Portuguese Person is . . .» Describe what Portuguese people in general are like, for example: «Nearly everyone is honest and wants to help others, etc.,» or «Nearly everybody is dishonest. Nearly all Portuguese People care about education.»
2. Rewrite the same essay using «Nearly Every American person is . . .»
3. Rewrite the same paper but this time use «I am the following things . . .»
4. Share or write:
   What I learned about myself.
   Was it hard to accept the projections as your own? Were some of them true and some of them not true about you?
5. When appropriate, get feedback from your friends as to the validity of your projections.

Sample of Questions used in SCTLA:

The following questions are extracted from the section of the test which concerns FAMILY relationships (primary reference group).

B. Using the following scale answer the questions.

SCALE:	1	2	3	4	5
	Always	Almost Always	?	Almost Never	Never

7. I stay home to take care of my younger brother(s) and/or sister(s), when needed, instead of going to school. _____
9. My family respects and supports my decisions. _____
10. My parents want me to adhere to their traditional beliefs. _____
11. My own beliefs are different than those of my parents. _____
21. My parents are supportive of my being in school. _____

C. Using the following scale, answer the questions below. (PEERS)

SCALE:	1	2	3	4	5
	Always	Almost Always	?	Almost Never	Never

2. I interact socially with classmates outside of school. _____
5. I do not like to admit that I am Portuguese. _____
9. My friends consider me different. _____
20. I like myself when I am among American friends. _____
21. My American friends understand my culture. _____
23. I do not trust my American friends as much as my Portuguese friends. _____

SCHOOL (same scale used)

3. I learn more in my bilingual classes than in aregulars classes. _____
5. I take an active part in group or class discussions. _____
10. I am active in school sports or clubs. _____
11. I like to go to school. _____
19. In school I am learning to see things in a different way. _____

COMMUNITY

1. Most of my neighbors speak my native language. _____
3. I wish I could live in another neighborhood. _____
5. I like my neighbors. _____
11. My neighbors care about my welfare. _____
16. I do not like the city. _____

FEELINGS ABOUT SELF (same scale used)

1. I like myself. _____
2. I am proud of my heritage. _____
6. I am independent. _____
9. I like the way I deal with people. _____
15. I feel alone in this world. _____

SENTENCE COMPLETION:

6. Most other students make me feel _____
8. My regular English teachers make me feel _____
14. I like people who _____
15. I feel that being an immigrant has _____
20. If I could be reborn, I would _____

NOTES

(1) N. Glazer and D. P. Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot*, (MIT Press and Harvard University Press, 1963).
These terms, as they are here employed, refer to the ethnic person who possesses the knowledge of the English language as well the native language, plus she / he is aware of the values and cultures of both systems.

(2) D. Aspy, «The effect of teacher-offered conditions of empathy, positive regard, and congruance upon student achievement», Florida Journal of Educational Research, Vol. 11 (1969), pp. 39-48.

(3) R. Mosher and Sprinthall, «Psychological education in secondary schools: A program to promote individual and human development», American Psychologist, Vol. 25 (1970), pp. 911-924.

(4) R. Mosher and N. Sprinthall, et. al., «Psychological education: A means to promote personal development during adolescence», The Counseling Psychologist, Vol. 2 (1971), page 9.

(5) M. Fantini and G. Weinstein, The Disadvantaged: Challenge to Education (Harper and Row, 1968).

(6) P. Minuchin, et. al., The Psychological Impact of School Experience (Basic Books, 1969).

(7) R. Mosher and N. Sprinthall, et. al., «Psychological education: A Means to promote personal development during adolescence», The Counseling Psychologist, Vol. 2 No. 4 (1971), page 9.

(8) G. A. De Vos, an essay: «Minority group identity», included in J. C. Finney's Culture Change, Mental Health and Poverty, (Simon and Schuster, 1970), page 85.

(9) G. M. Milton, *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins*, (Oxford University Press, 1964), page 85.
This theory demanded the complete renunciation of the immigrants' ancestral culture in favor of the behavior and values of the Anglo-Saxon core group.

(10) Ibid., page 85.
The «melting pot» idea envisioned a biological merger of the Anglo-Saxon peoples with other immigrant groups and a blending of their respective cultures into a new indigenous American type.

(11) Ibid., page 86.
«Cultural pluralism» postulated the preservation of the communal life and significant portions of the culture within the content of American citizenship, political and economic integration into American society.

(12) Reisman, *The Lonely Crowd*, (Yale University Press, 1950), page 38.

(13) When referring to the «dominant American» person, I am referring to a monolingual individual who is at least second or third generation, and was born and reared in the United States. When referring to the «dominant American» value system or culture, I realize that I am generalizing. My assumption of these values is that they are those needed for social mobility in an industrial society such as the United States. These values are stressed by the educational system as has been documented through research. I do not suggest that these values are exemplified by all Americans or that they are exclusive to the American culture.

(14) In referring to the Portuguese person, I am referring to a monolingual person born and reared in the Açores or Portugal. The cultural traits and value systems attributed to this group are representative of the rural Portuguese population from a predominately pre-industrial society.

(15) In referring to the Luso-American person, I am referring to a person who is bilingual. This individual speaks Portuguese and English. He/She can function in both societies. This person now resides in the United States but was born in in the Acores or Portugal. They were reared by their Portuguese Dominant parents. Their value systems are a mixture of both Portuguese and American value systems and cultures. They are a hybrid people.

(16) K. W. Deutsch, *Nationalism and Social Communication*, (Wiley, 1953), page 62.

(17) A. Kiev, «Transcultural psychiatry research problems and perspectives», included in S. C. Plog and R. B. Edgerton, (Ed.), Changing Perspectives in Mental Health, (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969).

(18) B. A. Sizemore, «Social Science and Education for a Black Identity», J. A. Banks and J. D. Grambs, (Ed.), Black Self-Concept, Implications for Education and Social Science (McGraw-Hill, 1972).

(19) E. L. Stewart, J. Danielson, and R. J. Festes, «Simulating intercultural communication through role playing», (Hum. RRO Tech. Rep. 69-7), Alexandria, Virginia, Human Resources Research Organization, (May, 1969).

(20) I wish to point out that in compiling the description of the Portuguese value system, I utilized the results of a study conducted by António Simões who used Florence Kluckhohn's mode of studying value orientation. The subjects he used were Portuguese, Luso-American, and American. I also relied upon the results of the informal self-concept test I administered plus my own observations and notes.

(21) G. J. Manaster and R. J. Havighurst, *Cross-national Research: Social-psychological Methods and Problems*, (Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1972).

(22) R. W. Brislin, W. J. Lonner and R. M. Thorndike, *Cross-cultural Research Methods*, (John Wiley and Sons, 1973).

(23) L. J. Cronbach, and P. J. D. Dunth, (Eds.), *Mental Tests and Cultural Adaptation*, (The Hague: Mouton, 1972).

(24) Refer to Appendix for sample questions.

(25) Minnesota Multiphastic Personality Inventory.

(26) American Cross-Cultural Ethnic Nomenclature Test.

(27) Black Intelligence Test Counterbalanced for Honkies or Black Intelligence Test of Cultural Homogeneity.

(28) Michigan International Student Problem Inventory.

(29) Refer to Appendix for sample.

(30) Refer to Appendix for sample of proposed exercises.

Bicognition: A Treatise on Conflict Resolution in the Portuguese-American Community — Some Insight for Educators and Public Professionals

Antonio Simoes, Jr.
Boston University

The purpose of this chapter is to explore some of the value orientations in the Portuguese-American Community. The major theme will focus on the «social schema» of the Luso-American (1) culture or belief system as it is commonly known in everyday life and as it relates to curriculum design.

Everyday life is considered here as the basic belief system of a culture, or subculture. In our case, it is the Portuguese-American working class community in which certain social «facts» and «realities» are believed to be «true». There are many sociological and anthropological descriptions for basic value orientations that are commonly used by bilingual educators. The term used to describe value orientations is known as a cognitive style.

What is a Cognitive Style?

It is generally accepted by most social scientists that all cultures have a basic social structure that interprets «reality» as «self-evident». These «principles» become fixed and other social variables that are unknown to a specific culture become threatening if they are presented to another culture without any justification. Berger and Luckmann treat a cultural belief system as the domain of everyday life which consciousness is always intentional; it tends or is directed toward objects. As they state:

> «The phenomenological analysis of everyday life, or rather of the subjective experience of everyday life, refrains from any casual or genetic hypothesis, as well as from assertions about the ontological status of the phenomena analyzed. Common sense contains innumerable present quasi-scientific interpretations about everyday reality, which it takes for granted.» (p. 20)

The state of everday life prescribes specific behaviors that are «true» to the individual and cannot be substantially changed because it does not fit the moral fabric as it is seen and as it is believed in the society. Everyday life is related to what is relevant. What is relevant is determined by immediate pragmatic interests of mine or by my general situation in society (Berger and Luckman, p. 93). In short, what is known to me is real. I cannot deny my reality. It is the knowledge that I possess about my specific environment.

Parsons describes cognition (knowledge) as a function of the superego system which relates to theory of social behavior (p. 17). He states that a social system is a function of the common culture, which not only *forms* the basis of the intercommunication of its members, but which defines, and so in one sense determines, the relative status of its members (p. 22). Hence what is «wrong» in a culture or subculture *is wrong* for that group. What is «self-evident» in a culture *is self-evident* and cannot be drastically changed. As Parsons states:

> «The conditions of socialization of a person are such that the gratifications which derive from his cathexis of objects cannot be secured unless, along with generalization of emotional meanings and their communication, also develops a *cognitive* categorization of objects, including himself, and a system of moral norms which regulate the relations between himself and the object (a superego)» (p. 29).

The common distribution of knowledge within the superego system creates cultural norms, belief systems, subjective objects of reality, primary socialization and other social variables that are accepted to be «true» and «real». (2)

Kluckhohn talks about values as process of selective orientation toward experiences which implies a deep commitment or repudiation or ordering choice among possible alternatives of action (p. 18). This deep commitment or repudiation of a certain object or idea (knowledge) is essential for each culture to maintain a general «balance» or «stability» in the belief system that it prescribes. What «should» be moral; or what «should» be adored, such as religious symbols, or what «should» be law are examples of a functioning society. Each culture has its own basic principles which are the maintaining factors of that society.

The theoretical literature about prescriptive cognition and value orientation is rich indeed. Our problem is not here. Culture maintains specific and general behaviors for its young which usually follow the historical sequence of cultural history with a minimum of dissonance. Conflicts are resolved «automatically» through cultural checks and balances and most cultures remain fixed in their basic principles. There are variations but these variations are co-opted and accepted into the macro-structure.

Bicognition and the Problems for Bilingual Education

Here lies our problem. What happens to the child who may have two or more sets of value descriptions which may sometimes conflict with each other? What is «right» in one cognitive style may be «wrong» in another cognitive style.

First, some definitions are in order. To be bilingual does not imply to be bicultural. One can learn a language and not relate to the distribution of knowledge of that culture. As I stated in one of my previous articles: «The terms «bilingual and bicultural» relate to two languages and two cultures. An individual who has acquired both can effectively deal with two symbolic systems (language) and two social settings (culture). A person who is bilingual is not necessarily bicultural because in the purest form each culture has its rudiments in cultural and social meaning» (p. 11). Christian presents this issue in the context of biliteracy and self concept in the social and psychological domain. For example, and as he states; «For the child whose parents do not speak the language of the school, the first step in the alteration of his self-concept, and step closely associated with the beginnings of literacy, is the change of name, (p. 21). My name in Portuguese becomes Tony in English, sometimes Tony the Fisherman and sometimes Antoine. Simões becomes Simmons, Simms and other variations that are linguistically and culturally transferable to the American social context. What is important is that *culture* changes as my name changes. My symbolic system interprets the social setting through my name. I have two or more cognitive styles and I must function and maintain my knowledge universe in this manner. (3)

Ramirez and Castaneda analyze analogous concepts in the Mexican-American value system. They cite a cultural situation involving a boy who believes that in the event of a crisis he must help the family first. The teacher, however, prescribed that schooling was more important and the family crisis would resolve itself, (p. 115). This cultural phenomenon has no linguistic transferability. I recall coming from Portugal at the age of nine. The teacher

asked me to talk about my family. I was proud of my family and I started to discuss the kinds of things my family value. «Stop!» she said. You are not talking about your family. «I want you to talk about your mother, father, and sister, not your aunts, uncles, and cousins.» I was destroyed. Now I realize what she asked me. She asked for my nuclear family. The extended family was out *of the realm of her knowledge*. «A familia» (the family) as it is known in the Portuguese culture, did not exist in the Anglo culture and I had to change a concept that I did not understand.

The bicognitive child also receives different cues in body language and everyday talk. A smile associated with a specific behavior may mean praise in one culture while in another culture it may imply punishment. Looking down at the floor while being scolded may be a sign of respect in the child's mind. Yet some teachers may interpret this as rebellious behavior. Watson refers to this fissure as rules for speaking which are not linguistic rules but social rules (p. 59). These social rules, whatever they may be, are «real» and «valid».

In short, bicognition can be described as *a knowledge of two cultures*. The individual lives in both at the same time, orienting himself to the dominant cultural environment, and in some instances belonging to neither one. He or she is usually a person that must adapt to many unfamiliar situations. As educators, we should be sensitive to these cultural variations.

The Portuguese-American Child and Conflict Resolution

For our purpose the term conflict resolution will mean the successful functioning in a culture where a bicognitive child will be able to cope with two or more cultural variations. Institutional values will be defined as an acceptance of traditional supportive services given by most educational situations.

The following schema may illustrate the focus of my major hypothesis in which bicognition may be a hybrid of two conflicting cultures creating a third value orientation.

Figure one presents several ways where conflict and its resolution may take place. Three out of four value orientations basically present a monocultural orientation (Portuguese, Anglo and American-Portuguese).

In the Portuguese culture rules are usually fixed where the family is the center of its economic base. For example, career orientation is looked at as a «good paying job» where one can eventually save and buy a home. Most of the values are preserved from back home and few Portuguese attempt to integrate into the social and economic system of the United States.

Figure One

Portuguese Culture	Portuguese-American Culture
Extended family, child rearing practices, career orientation, religious ethics, etc. Usually mono-lingual (Portuguese)	Integration, mixed role identification, rejection and acceptance from both cultures, etc. Usually, bilingual (Portuguese and English)
Anglo Culture	American-Portuguese Culture
Extended or nuclear family rearing practice, career orientation, religious ethics, etc. Usually mono-lingual (English)	Assimilation, positive role identification, loss of Portuguese language, rejection of Portuguese heritage, etc. Usually mono-lingual (English)

The Anglo culture is similar to the Portuguese in that it is also a mono-cultural society, even though its basic beliefs may be different in some aspects. These differences may trigger some social conflicts which cannot be resolved until one individual has successfully integrated himself into the socio-economic structure of the United States. It must be noted that the Anglo-culture and the American-Portuguese culture are very similar in that the American-Portuguese has assimilated most of the Anglo's values. Hence, and more important for us, the three cultures, Portuguese, Anglo and the American-Portuguese, are mono-lingual and mono-cultural. There is a belief system that is rooted to the culture and the everyday life that is simple and self-evident.

The Portuguese-American, however is caught between two cultures, possibly forming a hybrid of two cognitive styles and creating a third language and culture. In many cases self-identity may develop within conflicts, especially during childhood. This problem presents new challenges for the educator in that he or she must deal with new political and cultural definitions as they relate to curriculum design, materials development and other supportive services such as guidance counseling in the bilingual field.

Guidance counseling, for example, has legitimated itself as a viable and even necessary part of the school experience. In many instances academic success or failure are usually related to the personal needs of the child. When a child has a discipline problem there are the usual checks and balances in the school situation to resolve conflicts. Assistant principals, principals, deans and guidance counselors usually attempt to solve individual problems of the child. If this fails, the next step is to contact the parents. In most Anglo situations the parents will try to resolve the problem with the school personnel, be it by counseling techniques or further punishment. But what happens to the Portuguese-American child? It is assumed by most Portuguese parents that academic learning problems are in the realm of the classroom teacher and the matters in the personal domain should be dealt with by the family or the local priest. «School is for learning and respect for school is a must.» Recently, I was asked to speak to a group of sociologists and psychiatrists at a community health center in Newark, New Jersey. The basic problem was that most of the staff could not acquire credibility with the Portuguese Community. It was felt by most that the Portuguese were «shy» or were not interested in psychological supportive services. I explained to them that guilt and the resolution of this phenomenon was accomplished by the family or the priest, depending on the act or behavior. A boy in trouble with the police, a girl having a bad learning experience in school, a conflict between siblings and other similar problems were resolved by the father, the mother, or sometimes by other members of the extended clan. To relieve the guilt, that is not to solve it, was usually handled by the priest. My own research gives some clues to the Portuguese-American value system. Using the Kluckholm model, the data indicated that when Portuguese children get older and enter adolescence, their values start to adapt to their formal culture. For example, Portuguese children oriented themselves more toward subjugation to nature and lineality while their American counterparts oriented themselves toward mastery over nature and individualism. The Portuguese-Americans showed no preference toward general value orientations. Some Portuguese-Americans implied value preferences in subjugation to nature. In the relational area, the divisions were equally divided in the areas of lineality, collaterality, and individuality. The Portuguese children oriented their values more in lineality while the American children oriented themselves more in collaterality and individuality (p. 16). This suggested that many of the Portuguese-Americans had «mixed» values and in some instances could not relate to either the Portuguese or the Anglo culture.

Taking these themes into consideration, I have noticed that most bilingual-bicultural school situations still are using the term «culture» more as an institutional value with which a dichotomous situation arises. That is, it is either the Portuguese culture or the Anglo culture, and so on.

Some Resolutions for the Portuguese-American Child

We have not developed a technical language to adapt to this new cultural situation, specifically as it relates to the value problems and orientations of the sons and daughters of the immigrant and the migrant. Dialects are talked about in academic circles but they are not taken seriously by most educators who are in contact with children on a day-to-day basis. Concepts developed by an integration of both cultures are never explored with children in the classroom. When a Portuguese child says the word «store» he or she is usually corrected to say «loja» which is the «proper» Portuguese term for store. Yet the terms have *different* cultural connotations. A «loja» in Portugal is usually a small «store» specializing in specific products. The «store» in the United States could mean a local supermarket. The term «man» in the Anglo culture usually implies early adulthood, 18 years old or over. Yet, the Anglo culture has the term teenager which does not exist in the Portuguese culture. A 15 year old Portuguese American person may have to have a split personality to deal with his or her dissonance. At home, the male is an «homem» because he has a part-time job and helps the family quite substantially. In school, he is a «teenager» and still is looked upon as a child. Even the consciousness of white middle class Americans has changed toward the role of Anglo men and the concept of «machismo» has been on the attack by the feminist culture. Although I do accept this new analysis as a legitimate political movement, the bicognitive student may not perceive this analysis as a change in a post-industrial environment. His or her parents are usually reared where the father still is considered the «head» of the household. His or her mother still sees herself as the traditional woman with specific cultural roles assigned to her. As educators, what is important for us is that *both* the feminist movement and the macho syndrome are legitimate within the socio-cultural class framework. To counsel a bicognitive child in just one framework may create more psychological problems than it solves. The child may have to reject both values and is left with no other alternatives.

Just recently some colleagues of mine wanted to do some research in the Portuguese Community. They wanted to interview 30 families in five days. (The interview took 15 minutes.) I stated to them that it should take at least 30 days, because each interview with the child at home would have

to precede a talk with the parents, and possibly, some wine and cake would be offered before the interview. I told them it would be an insult to walk into a Portuguese home just for a short period of time. The first priority would be the establishment of a sense of trust between the parents and the researchers. They did not take my advice. One child later came up to me almost in a frightened state and said that her parents did not «understand» my friends. Hence, a traditional bicognitive conflict was created for the young girl. This problem could have been handled differently.

As a bilingual educator, I am quite concerned about the bicognitive child who may belong to neither culture. I am not implying that cultural heritage is not important. Quite the contrary. It is the basis for identity, pride and political power. The issue is not here. The issue is that our technical language is still insufficient to deal with the bilingual-bicultural child. Terms such as compound-coordinate bilingual used by Diller are just a beginning. It is essential that bilingual educators talk to other social scientists and develop new concepts in the field. In the area of socio-linguistics for example, new meanings relating to cultural phenomena are being researched and developed. In teacher training, however, our pedagogical language has not been fully created. Accordingly, I propose research and development in the following areas.

Research in Cognition, Bicognition and Teaching Strategies

Question: Are there specific teaching strategies that «fit specific cognitive styles?»

This area is still untouched by most educators. Baecher has researched the problem of cognitive style analysis and cited concepts and principles borrowed from the educational sciences. (4)

His research gives us some insight to what a cognitive style is, but he does not prescribe any specific teaching strategies. Joyce's models of teaching may be an avenue to explore in conjunction with specific cognitive styles.

Another area developed by Townsend in bilingual education is a model for teacher interaction analysis. Adopting from other systems, such as the Flander's system, Townsend has researched a model to improve teacher training in bilingual-bicultural classrooms. This model should be used for the research and development of interaction analysis for the bicognitive child.

We still do not know if the present educational jargon is sufficient in the areas of bilingualism and biculturalism. Terms such as individualized

prescribed instruction, meeting the needs of the children, the «mosaic concept» versus the «melting pot» idea, cultural heritage, social class or socio-economic status and other terms are based on *political* concepts and not on pedagogical principles. We talk about the cognitive and affective domains as separate entities, but analytically, this is a false assumption. We talk about skill development but never relate it to cognitive styles or cultural dominance.(5) In short, I can no longer sit by and accept educational rhetoric without a thorough analysis. We must move along toward serious research, especially in the area of bicognition.

I would like to conclude by saying that we must take our educational rhetoric seriously to improve our bilingual-bicultural programs. In the area of Portuguese-American Community research and development of educational models are in great need.

Notes

(1) Luso-American is equated here to mean Portuguese-American.

(2) The curriculum theorist must deal with this reality as a value system that has a specific logical domain. For the child to learn new behaviors, the educator must «know» the entry point of the student before objectives are identified.

(3) It is true that I must be aware of this cognition. Without this recognition I may perceive my behavior as a mono-cultural act.

(4) The seven sciences are: 1) Symbols and their meanings, 2) Cultural determinants of the meanings of symbols, 3) Modalities of interence, 4) Educational memory, 5) Cognitive states of individuals, 6) Student styles, teaching styles, administrative styles and counseling styles, 7) Systemic analysis decision-making.

(5) One has to listen very carefully to what we mean by skill development. In many instances, the hidden agenda is discipline and vocational training which implies remediation and not bilingual-bicultural education.

Bibliography

Baccher, Richard E. «Bilingual Children and Educational Cognitive Style Analysis,»Simões (Ed.) *The Bilingual Child-Research and Analysis of Existing Educational Themes.* New York: Academic Press, 1976 (In Press)

Berger, Peter L. and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality.* New York: Anchor Books, 1967.

Christian, Chester C. Jr. «Social and Psychological Implications of Bilingual Literacy,» Simões (Ed.) *The Bilingual Child-Research and Analysis of Existing Educational Themes.* New York: Academic Press, 1976 (In Press).

Diller, Karl C. «Compound and Coordinate Bilingualism-A Conceptual Artifact.» Paper presented at the Linguistic Society of America, Chicago: 1967.

Flanders, N.A. *Analyzing Teacher Behavior.* Reading, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley, 1970.

Joyce, Bruce and Marsha Weil. *Models of Teaching.* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey; Prentice -Hall, Inc., 1972.

Kluckhohn, Florence and Fred J. Strodbeck. Variations in Value Orientations. Evanston, Illinois: Row Peterson and Company, 1961.

Parsons, Talcott. *Social Structure and Personality.* New York: The Free Press, 1970.

Ramirez, Manuel, III and Alfredo Castaneda. *Cultural Democracy,* Bicognitive Development, and Education. New York: Academic Press, 1974.

Simões, Antonio Jr. «The Advantages of Bilingual Education». Reading Improvement Volume 12, Number 1 Spring, 1975.

Simões, Antonio, Jr. (Ed.) *The Bilingual Child-Research and Analysis of Existing Educational Themes,* New York: Academic Press, Inc., 1976.

Simões, Antonio, Jr. «A Paradigm for Further Research in Bilingual-Bicultural Education,» *Eric ED 103 160.*

Townsend, Darryl R. «Bilingual Interaction Analysis: The Development and Status.» Simões (Ed.) *The Bilingual Child-Research and Analysis of Existing Educational Themes.* New York: Academic Press, 1976 (In Press).

Overcoming Culture Shock: A Frame of Reference

Pedro da Cunha
Cambridge Schools

The concept of culture shock is very often used to explain away everything that all immigrants suffer at any time. If a child does not come to school, it is because of culture shock; if the parents can't find a job, it is culture shock; if the daughter does not go to gym, if the son does not learn how to read and write, again, it is because of culture shock. The term is used so often, and to explain so many things, that it is in danger of losing any useful meaning for the educator. When one diagnoses a certain child as suffering from culture shock, if nothing else is explained, nothing really was diagnosed.

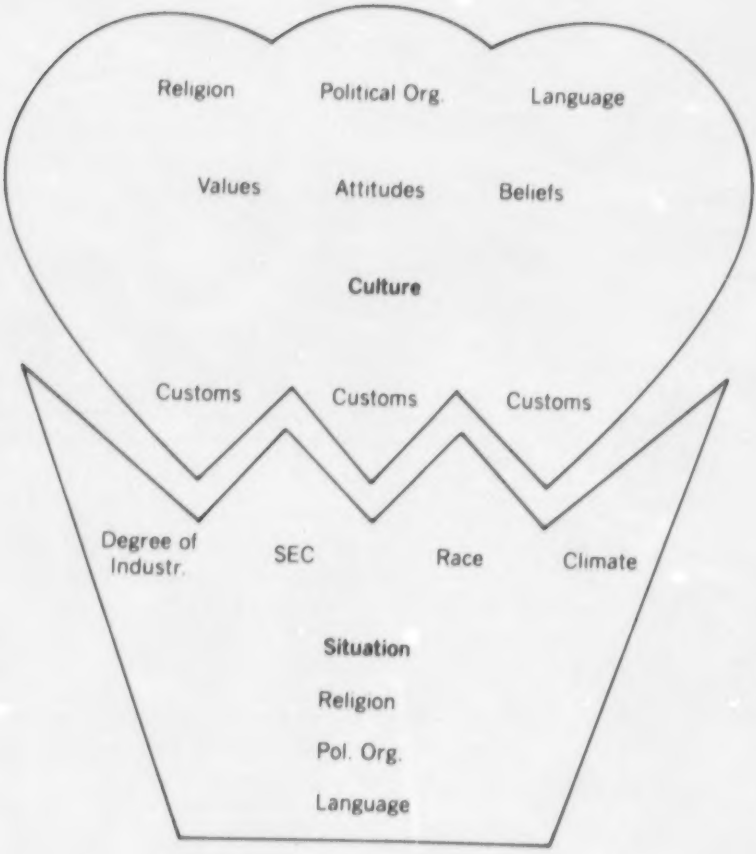
If the term «culture shock» is to become useful again to the educator, we have to develop other tools that help him to analyze its characteristics, to differentiate its various aspects, and to predict its effects. We can analyze this concept from a sociological and a psychological point of view:

SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

1. Nationality Shock

A first way to analyze the culture shock suffered by an immigrant consists of comparing the culture of the original country with the culture of the United States. One would say, for instance, that the Portuguese family structure is very patriarchal, and the American one very democratic; that the Portuguese are very nostalgic and turned to the past, and the Americans have no roots and are always turned to the future. These types of generalizations, nevertheless, are so broad, and can lead to so many prejudices, that they are of little use to the educator. In fact, the culture of Black Americans in a small town in Alabama is so different from the culture of a Waspish suburb in New England that one even wonders whether it is still possible to speak of «American culture» at all. The same is true of the Portuguese. From the small «aldeia» of Tràs-os-Montes to a new «bairro» of Lisbon, or from the cosmopolitan elite of Ponta Delgada to the fisherman of Rabo de Peixe, the psychologi-

Table I


Religion
Political Org.
Language
Values
Attitudes
Beliefs
Culture
Customs
Customs
Customs
Degree of Industr.
SEC
Race
Climate
Situation
Religion
Pol. Org.
Language

cal distance is so great that to speak of a common Portuguese culture is practically meaningless.

There are indeed certain common elements among all Portuguese, as among all Americans: there is a common heritage, a common identification, a common language. It is true that the Portuguese immigrant misses these common elements in the adopted country. Let us say that he may suffer from a «nationality shock». But what he misses most are the common elements that he used to share with his immediate neighbors, with his extended family, in his village. And he is shocked by the customs, beliefs and norms of the Americans he sees in his new town, not by the Americans he hears of in the mythology of politicians and teachers.

A comparison between «national cultures» is not, therefore, a useful instrument to analyze the culture shock suffered by an immigrant. What is necessary is, rather, a system of reference in which the unconscious culture that influences the perception and behavior of an individual in a certain country can be compared with the unconscious culture of another individual in the United States. A system that makes it possible to compare the culture of the fisherman from Rabo de Peixe with the culture of the second generation Irishman from Somerville, Massachusetts.

2. Culture, Situation, Institutions

Before proposing such a system of reference, a few definitions are necessary:

Culture, in this context, is the complex set of beliefs, attitudes, values, and norms that was organized by a community through the centuries in answer to the demands of a situation.

A *situation,* as such, is made up of all those circumstances, from climate to economic structure, from social condition to technology, that each community confronts as the environment in which it moves, but also, by which it is limited.

Now, the culture developed in answer to a situation is always expressed in *institutions* such as language, political organization, religion and law. But, as with all expressions and symbols, these institutions, after they have served to symbolize a certain culture, become part of the situation to which the culture has to adapt itself. (See Table I.)

3. The System of Reference

Not all communities respond the same way to similar situations, one reason being that the situations can never be more than «similar.» There is always one circumstance that varies in such a way as to call for quite a different reaction. Nevertheless, men, in general, tend to respond in strikingly similar

ways to some common circumstances. If we can identify those circumstances we will have a way of predicting and analyzing cultures and, therefore, culture shock.

I propose four circumstances that are 1) powerful determinants of a situation, and 2) tend to provoke similar reactions in men, as far as perception and behavior are concerned and, therefore, tend to provoke similar cultures. Those circumstances are: degree of industrialization, socio-economic situation, climate and race.

I mentioned before that those institutions that express a certain culture become, in turn, part of the situation to which a culture has to adapt itself. I will therefore have to count them also as circumstances of a situation. They are: religion, political organization and language.

These seven circumstances can, now, be considered as variables in a matrix. Each variable would, then, be differentiated in several moments of a continuum that show a mutation in their significance. The following chart expresses the matrix that results from this type of differentiation:

Table II

Degree of Industrialization	Industrializing		Industrialized	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
Soc. Ec. Cond	Low	Middle	Up. Middle	Upper
Climate	Polar	Tropical	Modert. Warm	Modert. Cold
Race	Black	Oriental	Mediter.	Nordic
Religion	Non-Bibl.	Non-Christ.	Catholic	Protestant
Political Org.	Tribal	Totalitar.	Paternal.	Democrt.
Language	Non-IE.	Slavic	Romance	Germanic

This chart makes it possible, first, to predict where and how a certain person or group of individuals is going to find culture shock and, second, how severe that shock will be.

Let us take, for instance, a group of Azoreans from Rabo de Peixe who come to live in Somerville, Mass. Their degree of industrialization is definitely rural-pre-industrial; they come from a low socio-economic condition, Mediterranean race, moderate-warm climate, Catholic religion, paternalistic political organization and romance language. On the other hand, in Somerville, they find a community that is basically second-generation Irish. They live in an urban industrialized area, of middle socio-economic condition, Celtic race, moderate-cold climate, Catholic religion, democratic government, Germanic language. Both profiles can be charted in the following table:

Table III

Degree of Industrialization	Industrializing		Industrialized	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
Soc. Ec. Cond.	Low	Middle	Up. Middle	Upper
Climate	Polar	Tropical	Modert. Warm	Modert. Cold
Race	Black	Oriental	Mediter.	Nordic
Religion	Non-Bibl.	Non-Christ.	Catholic	Protestant
Political Org.	Tribal	Totalitar.	Paternal.	Democrt.
Language	Non-IE.	Slavic	Romance	Germanic

After seeing the two profiles, we can easily predict: 1) that there will be a strong culture shock in everything related to the different degree of industrialization; and 2) that in all other areas, the problem will not be very severe. With this type of chart, in fact, we can predict 1) that there will be culture shock whenever there is a distance between the two profiles; and 2) that the greater the distance between profiles, the greater the culture shock.

If, instead of an Azorean from Rabo de Peixe, we have a Cabo Verdean from the bushes of Ilna do Fogo, we might have quite a different profile:

Table IV

Degree of Industrialization	Industrializing		Industrialized	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
Soc. Ec. Cond.	Low	Middle	Up. Middle	Upper
Climate	Polar	Tropical	Modert. Warm	Modert. Cold
Race	Black	Oriental	Mediter.	Nordic
Religion	Non-Bibl.	Non-Christ.	Catholic	Protestant
Political Org.	Tribal	Totalitar.	Paternal.	Democrt.
Language	Non-IE.	Slavic	Romance	Germanic

We can, therefore, predict that culture shock, in this case, will be much more generalized, and that this person has to be followed very closely if complete psychological disorganization is to be avoided.

This chart is but one example of the type of frame of reference an educator dealing with an immigrant population could have. According to his particular needs, he could increase the number of variables he wants to analyze including, for instance, esthetics, law, philosophy, etc. What is important is to have a clear understanding of each moment in the continua so as to be able to draw a profile with some relevance and truth.

4. Analysis of one variable: degree of industrialization

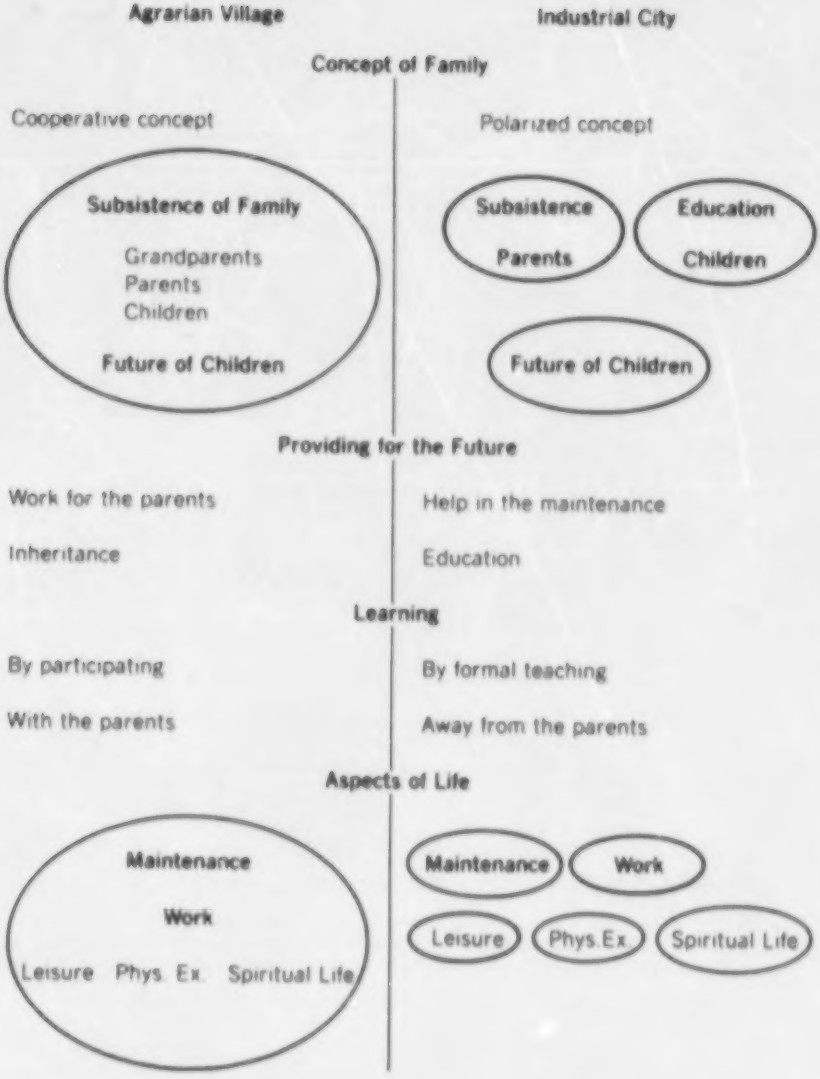
When we analyzed the profile of tha Azorean coming from Rabo de Peixe to Somerville, we realized that the different degree of industrialization of the two communities was the area that, with more probability, would cause severe culture shock between them.[1] Let us further examine this circumstance, as an example of the type of analysis that can be made with the other six.

A first characteristic of most agrarian pre-industrialized societies is the *co-operative concept of the family*. The basic support of the family is the immediate concern and responsibility of all members of the family. Nobody is excluded, from grandparents to parents and young children. Each one will be assigned a particular task according to age and strength, but all contribute: the children until they get married, the grandparents until they die. If it is the home of a fisherman, the father goes to the sea, the children clean the boat and instruments, the grandparents mend the nets, the mother keeps the house. If it is the home of a farmer, the father perhaps plows the fields, the grandparents feed the chickens, the children milk the cows, the mother waters the garden. Someone could argue that this type of collaboration is also performed by children in urban industrialized settings. In any well organized household, one child is in charge of the trash, another of the dishes, a third of the vacuuming. The difference lies in the fact that the child in the agrarian community contributes to the very productive task of the adults, while in the city he only contributes to the maintenance aspect. The child in the pre-industrial farm is an economic asset, while in the city he will always be an economic liability. In sharp contrast, therefore, with the concept of the family as a cooperative among parents and children for the benefit of all, we have, in the industrial city, the family divided into a productive unit and a beneficiary unit. The parents produce, the children receive; the parents work, the children study.

This difference in the concept of the family can be correlated with the different system of *providing for the future of the children*. In the agrarian village, parents provide for the future of their children through inheritance, in the industrial city through education. It makes sense, therefore, and it is fair to the children in the preindustrial farm when they contribute to the family business, since they are working and contributing to what is going to be theirs at their parents' death. They are working now for what is going to support them in the future. In the city, though, it does not make sense for a child to work for his father. It is through education that he is going to find the means to support himself, not through whatever money or property his father will leave at his death.

A third characteristic of agrarian societies is the *participatory concept of learning*. Children are introduced into the adult world by participating in the activities of the parents, by doing as they do and working with them, rather than by studying first and doing afterwards. Children are, therefore, constantly mixing with adults, learning from them, working with them. There is not a youth culture and an adult culture. Parents are in constant communication

Table V


Agrarian Village
Industrial City
Concept of Family
Cooperative concept
Polarized concept
Subsistence of Family
Grandparents
Parents
Children
Future of Children
Subsistence
Parents
Education
Children
Future of Children
Providing for the Future
Work for the parents
Inheritance
Help in the maintenance
Education
Learning
By participating
With the parents
By formal teaching
Away from the parents
Aspects of Life
Maintenance
Work
Leisure
Phys. Ex.
Spiritual Life
Maintenance
Work
Leisure
Phys. Ex.
Spiritual Life

with the children, without having to «talk» with them. Children are the constant pride of the parents without having to bring home good marks from teachers and prizes from employers.

A fourth characteristic of the preindustrial village is the *globality of life*. In those societies, all aspects of life (maintenance activities, leisure endeavors, physical exercise and spiritual undertakings) are combined in a whole, without separation and interruption. To wash her clothes, a woman goes to the river where she can breathe unpolluted air, get a lot of exercise, meet the neighbors, sing along, enjoy the magnificent scenery. All these aspects of life come together without planning and effort, and the person develops, wholesome and happy. In the industrial city, though, life is compartmentalized; each aspect of man is developed separately, and it is necessary to plan ahead in order not to overlook any dimension. Work is separated from leisure and from esthetics. A man works all year in order to rest during two weeks, or he works all day so that he can go to the theater at night. He has to do gymnastics or play sports since he spends the whole day sitting down in the office. He works in one town and sleeps in another; he spends the year in one state and travels abroad during his vacation. Table V shows how these four characteristics contrast with the characteristics of industrialized cities.

Given the different meaning of these four aspects in the agrarian village and in the industrial city, we can now predict that in each aspect the immigrant from the village will not adjust easily. Parents, for instance, will continue to expect that the children work for them until they marry. The children will feel guilty if they don't, although secretly they feel it is unfair if they do. The parents will be very anxious to save money or to buy property in order to leave an estate to the children, while totally unconcerned about whether or not the children go to college.

The children had already experienced the joy and the pride of working with the parents in the adult world, sharing its tasks and responsibilities. The parents now disappear from the picture. What the parents do is no more the ideal they dream about. The father or the mother is no more the strong guide that introduces them to the mysteries of life. What the parents do is insignificant and unknown, and therefore the children lose respect and admiration for their parents. Adults lose authority, not so much because America is the land of freedom and it is not allowed to punish the children physically, but because adults are no longer the models they used to be in the village, who inspired the young and stimulated them to grow. Confused and disoriented as to their role, parents may rely even more on physical punishment to control their «Americanized» children, provoking a chain of events that more and

more estranges children from adults.

We can finally predict that both children and parents will forget some aspects of their humanity. Since work does not come integrated with all the other dimensions, some will perhaps never think of doing sports or gymnastics; some will have two jobs and overlook the basic necessity of having fun and distraction; others will not have time to go to church or see a movie. All of them will find it very difficult to plan a wholesome life.

Other characteristics could be added, such as the system of dating, the role of women, the attitude towards money. Again, what is suggested here is a frame of reference, not a complete analysis. The educator will develop other aspects according to his particular needs.

PSYCHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

The previous analysis was sociological in nature. It was intended to give the educator a frame of reference that would enable him to predict areas of conflict different groups of immigrants would find in the new country. It said little, however, about the intimate turmoil a child or a parent may suffer, about the stages of their psychological adjustment, about the conditions for a healthy integration in the new society. That type of analysis is the province of the psychologist.

1. Inadequacy

When a person finds himself suddenly in a different culture, his first dominant and overwhelming experience is perhaps the feeling of inadequacy. Many mature and even prestigious adults who have had to immigrate have expressed this experience when they confessed, «I feel like a child.» It is not only the basic inadequacy of not knowing the language fluently that we are talking about. It is the ignorance of what is appropriate and what is not, be it in the restaurant, on the bus, at the party, in the store. What in one country it a sign of respect is in another pretentiousness; what is clean in Portugal may be dirty in the US; what is the dress for a party in Spain may be the dress for a funeral in the US; what is moral in the Azores may be considered exploitative in Boston. The immigrant, not knowing the codes of the new country, is in constant fear of being ridiculous. On the other hand, his own codes, to which he is attached emotionally, don't guide him automatically anymore. He feels like the person who has to decide consciously all his movements when walking.

Since he feels inadequate, he will also tend to feel inferior, as a child in front of the grown-up. This feeling of inferiority can even become paranoia, the immigrant being always convinced that everybody is putting him down, running away from him, discriminating against him. A smile of understanding

may be interpreted as condescension, a request to repeat the question as disgust for his accent, a welcoming remark as a joke of bad taste.

The healthy adult, who learned in his country to accept and respect himself, survives easily this sudden loss of face. But the insecure one, and the child, will receive a further blow to his self-esteem. Without much support and compassion he may never recover.

2. Withdrawal

Nobody can survive without a minimum of self-esteem. After a period of confusion and of feeling inadequate, two syndromes, in general, develop in the immigrant. The first one is withdrawal or apathy, more or less pronounced according to the psychological make-up of the person.

Teachers in bilingual programs constantly complain about students who «don't care about anything.» Their parents also don't care, they say. They never come to school, and when they come, they shrug their shoulders, impotent and tired. These children and parents are depressed, as anybody will be when he does not find the basic reinforcement to continue to live, which is the feeling that «I am worth something.»

3. Hyperactivity

Others react by hyperactivity. It is the student who laughs inappropriately, is always hitting the others, is constantly involved in actions that disturb the class or interrupt the normal flow of school activities. It is the adult who speaks up at every meeting he attends, even when he does not understand the subject of the meeting or he has nothing to say, even when his accent is so heavy that nobody can follow him. Both adults and children try every possible avenue of recognition and attention. They don't give up as the depressed person does but, in their nervousness, they try so hard that they make a nuisance of themselves, thereby provoking the rejection they are so afraid of.

4. Rejection of new culture

There is always a period of rejection of the new culture in the life of every immigrant. The new codes, values and customs seem to be too alien to even try to understand them. Moreover, the inadequacy the person felt, and perhaps still feels, left too great a scar and too great a resentment for him to even attempt to look with fresh eyes at the new country. It is the ghetto reaction that starts to activate. Everything that is American is bad, only what is of the old country is good. The only decent persons to marry my daughter or my son are boys and girls who still live in the village, still uncontaminated by American customs. American doctors are unprofessional and incompetent since they come to the hospital in «jeans» and corduroy jackets. American schools have no standards, teachers are not dedicated, administrators are incompetent. The schools in the old country, in contrast, were ideal, its hospitals

havens of health and repose, its doctors all competent and compassionate.

But let us not despise ghettos and walls of protection. Perhaps those who felt depressed and incapable of reacting to the initial culture shock can only find some balance in the ghetto. Perhaps the ghetto is that intermediate step that enables an immigrant to look at society at large without fear and inferiority.

5. Overidentification with new culture

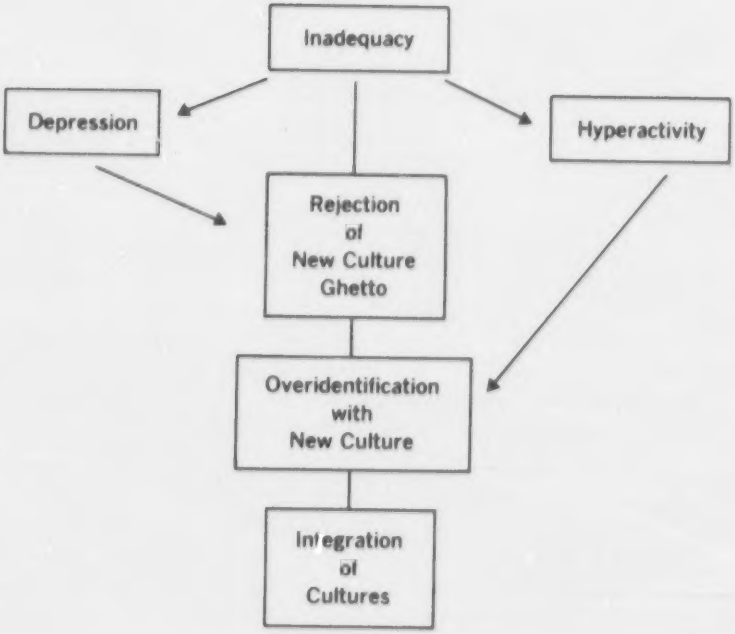
Instead of this ghetto reaction, or very often following it, an overidentification takes place with the new culture. This reaction is very similar to the identification with the aggressor that psychologists talk so much about. In their anxiety to be accepted by the members of the new culture, immigrants try to become more American than Americans, adopt mannerisms, clothes, eating habits that already many Americans shy away from as being too Hollywoodian or too stereotyped. Children who were transferred to the regular program now join the gang of those who harass the poor newcomers, calling them names and teasing them. Second generation administrators fight bilingual programs as being un-American, or as delaying the process of immersion in the American middle class.

Adopting with the anxiety of the «parvenue» the exterior signs of Americanism, these immigrants also reject with the same nervousness everything that reminds them of their old culture. Children no longer want the soups, the homemade bread, or the sausages their parents make, and consider hot dogs and hamburgers as the only decent meals everybody should eat. Students ask their parents not to come to school, ashamed of the way they look or the way they dress, so different from the way their middle class teachers appear to them. Adults change or translate their last names—from Rodrigues to Rodrik, from Rosa to Rogers, from Pereira to Perry; and sometimes they give their children Irish or Polish names—whatever in their neighborhood is seen as American. Children in bilingual programs lose interest in learning to read and write in their own language, and as soon as they can speak some English they declare they don't know their own language anymore.

These mechanisms of rejection and overidentification of either culture are further complicated by the fact that children and parents don't develop at the same rate. A child may be in the stage of overidentification with American culture, while his parents are still trying to build up protective ghettos. The father who dreams about his homemade bread can't understand the daughter who rejects it to eat Wonder bread. He who looks forward during the whole year to the feast of Sto. Cristo will be disgusted with his son who prefers to watch the Bruins that day.

The following chart summarizes the different stages of culture shock:

Table VI



OVERCOMING CULTURE SHOCK

There are no standard formulas for overcoming culture shock. Since it varies so much from immigrant to immigrant according to the different circumstances they come from and they come to, each personal culture shock has to be handled separately. The culture shock, for instance, suffered by the Lisbon-born Portuguese who immigrates to Somerville, Mass. is completely different from the culture shock of the Portuguese born in Boticas who immigrates to Milford, Mass.

There are no formulas, therefore. But there are some approaches that seem to work better than others. Since the majority of Portuguese immigrants to the United States come, indeed, from agrarian pre-industrial areas like Boticas or Rabo de Peixe, let us consider the case and discuss possible approaches that have been used to help them overcome culture shock.

Reverse colonialism

A first approach to solving culture shock is what could be called reverse colonialism. It consists of imposing, directly or indirectly, the values, attitudes and beliefs—the culture—of the region that receives the immigrants. This colonialism can be seen in operation, for instance, in many school systems that resist the concept of bilingual education. The education of the immigrant is seen by those school systems as a brainwashing type of endeavor by which the «poor» immigrant will be transformed into the mythical middle-class American. His native language, his values and customs are considered obstacles to the progress of acculturation.

This colonialism is similar to the one practiced by the major European countries in Asia and Africa during the XIXth century. It is easy to condemn such colonialism. Regardless of whether it works or not, it is seen as an intolerable imposition upon people who did not ask to be invaded. Reverse colonialism, though, seems innocent. In fact, one could argue that if the immigrant came to this country, it was because he wanted to be a part of it and, therefore, of its culture. The point is that even if it is innocent, this method doesn't work. No one can survive psychologically, having rejected his past or his culture. He will constantly suffer from a dissonance between his deep unconscious native values, and the newly acquired ones. Culture shock will be perpetuated at an unconscious level; it will not be solved.

Integration

The second approach, the only one that seems to work, is the method of integration. Culture, as was explained before, is always developed in answer to a situation. If the situation changes, the culture will also have to change, otherwise it becomes either phony or unproductive. But there is the possibili-

ty that the change will take place in the realm of customs rather than in the realm of values.

Let us take, for instance, the cooperative concept of the family. This cooperation is a value no one has the right to change. But this value in an agrarian society was embodied in customs such as working for the parents until marrying. This is a highly adapted custom in the agrarian society, since parents provide for the future of their children through inheritance, that is of primary importance. Therefore, in order to preserve the original value of family collaboration, one has to embody it in a different custom that is not detrimental to the future of the children.

Therefore, the following steps are implicit in the method of integration:

1. To listen with tenderness and respect to all the elements of the old culculture.
2. To search for the values that are the basis of the different practices, customs and attitudes.
3. To find the economic and historic reasons why those values were expressed in such customs.
4. To find ways the permanent values can be incorporated into practices consistent with life in the modern city.

If this method were consistently used in bilingual programs, we would not have the tremendous conflict that dropping out at sixteen years of age represents for most families. The parents, following their old custom, consider it a moral imperative to take their children out of school at sixteen. To stay in school longer is viewed by them as egotism on the part of the child, indifference to the welfare of the family, unfairness to the older children. Teachers perhaps accuse the parents of exploiting their children, and the children, caught in the middle, feel cheated if they drop out and feel guilty if they don't.

What a relief it could be for all if they found ways by which the moral values of family collaboration could be maintained without dropping out of school.

The integration method is a method of acceptance. It attempts to help the immigrant accept the deep values that shape his identity. As such, it is the opposite of colonialism. But it is a method of growth. It requires him to adapt his values to the new situation he has chosen. It is, therefore, the opposite of a ghetto mentality. After all, integration of the present with the past and the future is the task of all healthy human beings. Rupture from the past or from the future is the sign of all psychological maladjustments.

Notes

(1) Dr. António Simões of Boston University suggested to include in this continuum the «Post-industrial Society.» It seems, nevertheless, that rather than open a new moment, qualitatively different from the others, in the continuum «degree of industrialization,» it is preferable to consider that concept at the extreme pole of urban-industrialized society. «Post-industrial society» is a very useful concept that helps us to understand certain trends in highly industrial countries, but we still don't have a post-industrialized society. Those who predict the coming of such society are forecasting the future. See Daniel Bell, *The Coming of Post-industrial Society. Adventure in Social Forecasting* (New York: Basic Books, 1976).

(2) The book recently published by Fernando de Meneses, *Entre dois mundos*, vida quotidiana de crianças portugueses na América (NADC, 1978), uses, mostly in the «Teacher's Guide,» this method of acceptance and integration.

Testing Portuguese Immigrant Children (Cultural Patterns and Group Differences in Responses to the WISC-R)

José Luis Ribeiro
Cambridge Schools

The present survey is based on a sample of over 350 low-income children from a large urban school system in Massachusetts. The subjects range in age from 5 1/2 to 18 years. They are all Portuguese speaking. The overwhelming majority—up to 95%—come from the Azorean Islands, with the remaining coming from continental Portugal, from Brazil or from the Cape Verdean Islands.

The Islands which constitute the Archipelago of the Azores are in the Atlantic Ocean, roughly two thousand miles from the United States and one thousand miles from Portugual. Discovered by Portuguese sailors in the 15th century, these then uninhabited islands were gradually populated by Portuguese peasants and farmers sent by the Kings, mainly from the South of Portugal. Five centuries later we find that the families which immigrate to the United States are for the most part of very low income. They find work in factories or low paying unskilled jobs. There is a tight family unity and adherence to religious values and to ancient rural traditions. Culture shock is a fact of life as soon as they enter the inner city where they lead a semi-ghetto existence.

The sample tested is not a random sample nor is it representative of the whole population as far as IQ is concerned. The majority of the children were tested because they are considered special needs children. However, since IQ is not at stake in this survey, and the term «special needs» is a big educational umbrella, some useful generalizations can be made from this examiner's experience with these minority group children.

The examiner is also Portuguese,was born and raised in the countryside, and has worked with these children for five years. He does, therefore, speak the language of these children and understands their culture. He firmly believes that, if it can be done, he is in the position of eliciting from the children he tests a level of performance which accurately reflects their underlying com-

petence. Such a congruence between examiner's and examinee's language and circumstances is essential for accurate assessment of underlying competence. This congruence is especially important whenever the life circumstances of the examinee's vary from those experiences of the normative sample in the tests to be used.

«References» should not be over-generalized, and implications should be suggested with caution, however. The response trends noted in this paper do occur with frequency in a sizable sampling. Such trends must be studied more carefully with an attempt to relate such issues to psychological theory of ethnic and individual differences. Any good test user should be keenly attuned to individual and group differences. This is even more crucial when having to test minority children with tests standardized upon a different linguistic and cultural population.

It is well known that discrimination exists in educational settings. To a lesser or greater extent we also know that such discrimination is embodied in the tests we use to make judgments and to implement decisions about the lives of the children with whom we deal. We should relentlessly look for the most appropriate and fair tests to utilize with the children we are called to assess. Realistically, however, the non-biased, culture-free test, administered in any language and equally valid for all children regardless of sex, ethnic origin or socioeconomic status will never be produced. Furthermore, the culture-fair test more often than not concentrates on thoroughly assessing a limited number of highly specific behaviors, thus limiting the diagnostic possibilities and the subsequent prescription for sound learning activities.

I give my full support to the most recent trend urging that unfairness lies not so much in the test itself as in the way the test is used. With all due respect to some tests judged as culture-fair by many authors in the field, this examiner has repeatedly found that examinees may attain as high a score, if not higher on the WISC-R, with the precious advantage of revealing important psychological characteristics. The crucial point, however, in the process, is that not every test user has the preparation, awareness and sensitivity required to help and not hinder the minority special needs children in such testing situations. Since our major objective is to provide more effective and appropriate educational and psychological services for our children, then this point cannot be ignored. It is our hope that the following observations on the WISC-R as applied to Portuguese children will provide examples of how the test giver can strive for assessments which highlight potential and clarify differences that are not merely cultural, but are in fact individual.

When the Azorean children arrive in this urban school system of the Greater Boston area they are faced with many elements of culture-shock. Testing is one of them. I completed my educational career in the Portuguese culture without ever having to face that unique intellectual phenomenon of an IQ test. Then I came here and faced it at age 31. Our Azorean children, therefore, come into a culture where a radically different educational system prevails. In their adoptive country it is most typical, especially among the school population, to take a standardized mental ability test—a test that probably will play a significant role in determining one's place in society.

The optimistic side of the coin is the fact that the degree of adaptive behaviour of these new immigrant children is quite remarkable, both in regard to personal independence and social and culturally imposed demands. But the question remains that test results may be non-representative of the general make up of the subject tested.

> «It may justly be argued that such tests are nevertheless meaningful . . . The test results may appear to be inconclusive. In such cases it often remains a moot question whether this is due to a basic limitation of the test or is inherent in the limits of the examiner's experience with the test.» (1)

I agree with Blatt and Allison's statement regarding the use of the Wechsler scales with minority populations:

> «Some members of our society live essentially in subcultures which are somewhat removed from the mainstream of middle class experience and from conventionally learned approaches to cognitive tasks. The WAIS (and most intelligence tests) presents a more novel situation to such people than it does to people schooled in the types of procedures and tasks presented by the tests. It is important to remember that though the WAIS is generally considered to be more structured than most other psychological procedures, it can also be experienced in very different ways depending upon earlier educational experiences.» (2)

My attempt will be to bring some of those earlier educational experiences into

a meaningful context, prompted by my analysis of responses of Portuguese youth to selected items on the WISC-R subtests.

For the purpose of simplifying this discussion I will refer to the subtests following the order found in the WISC-R Manual. Although I used the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children before its revision, and occasionally I use the WIPSI and the WAIS, it is my feeling that the references to the WISC-R as presented in this paper can be applied to the other Wechsler scales «mutatis mutandis» . . . I will deal at length with some subtests where the content or style of the responses, as well as the organization of psychological functions bring to the surface specific individual and ethnic differences.

INFORMATION

Information, as it stands, is by far the most biased WISC-R subtest for our Azorean population, especially in regard to item content. The rank ordering of item difficulty of adjacent items is another complicating and discriminating factor. These reasons alone should prevent any test giver from making the habitual correlation with this subtest with other subtests and total score for diagnostic purposes. Such a diagnosis would be rendered as totally invalid for our population. Let me indicate some simple elements of bias in typical information items:

Item no. 5: «How many pennies make a nickel?» This is unfair for children under 9 years of age who have been in this country for less than two years.

Item no. 9: «From what animal do we get bacon?» presents a typical problem where cultural circumstances almost insure limited responses. It should be noted that for rural populations of both continental and insular, Portugual, pork is a staple; terminology—ie; «bacon»—here limits unnecessarily an otherwise probable correct answer. So, in spite of his familiarity with basically the same product, the Azorean child is unable to conceptualize or process the question the same way an American child, who eats his pork as «bacon», probably would . . . The Azorean child has a different socioeconomic perspective and a different conceptual frame of reference. The alert psychologist would simply formulate the question this way for a rural Portuguese speaking child: «From what animal do we get sausages *(chouriços)*?». Rare would be the Portugese child who could not answer correctly from age 6 1/2 and over.

Typical of rank order of difficulty is Information item no. 18. Many a Portuguese child would come up with the right answer to the question, «Why does oil float on water?», even after having missed the four preceding

items. Rationale: The overwhelming majority of the children in our population come from church-going Roman Catholic families. The lamp which traditionally burns in church near the main altar, with olive oil floating on water, is a very familiar scene for those children.

> « . . . it is a prerequisite for systematic clinical psychological practice to look upon intelligence as a function of a natural endowment unfolding in a process of maturation, in the course of which . . . he will undergo a process of picking up information—facts and knowledge of relationships—from his educational environment, which includes the home, the relatives, their social relationships, and the geographical-cultural location and its implication». (3)

About the Information subtest a word of caution which is also applicable to Vocabulary and Similarities. The poverty of the educational environment shows up in failures in this subtest (Information), even when culture bias is not a big factor. The typical Azorean family in our tested population is not verbally oriented; and the language used at home is concrete, objective and instrumental. We will return to this point when dealing with the Vocabulary subtest.

If taken in isolation, Information is one of the WISC-R subtests which could provide a rough measure of how long an immigrant child had been living in this country. Retest situations, in our experience, clearly confirm the usefulness of this indicator. When dealing with the newly arrived child, however, it is worthwhile considering that this subtest could be omitted from the total Verbal score. The remaining 4 verbal subtests would be prorated for Verbal IQ totals.

PICTURE COMPLETION

Striking characteristics of the children in our group are their low self-esteem and inferiority feelings towards school tasks and even to school personnel. These youth have known authoritarian rules, political dictatorship, and task-master teachers. The typical testing situation finds them in this process of adapting to the new culture, struggling with the new language and picking up information. So, as expressed by Blatt and Allison:

> «Occasionally this subtest may be affected by a subject's reluctance to criticize, to assert himself, to attack actively or find fault with an aspect of his environment . . . a low score may be seen as a function of passivity.» (4)

Encouragement in this subtest is, therefore, in order. The directions have to be clearly stressed. If need be, the test giver should repeat the fact that something is always missing, to combat their trend of passivity. With this reassurance the Picture Completion subtest can be a favorite for our population. We see many reasons for this. First of all, verbalization plays no significant role; second, the pictures are recognizable by the majority of the children; and the items, by and large, do not require any specialized kind of information, but rather common information from everyday life. We find no bias with most of the items up to item no. 22, the *thermometer*; such an item, rather common in this culture is extremely uncommon in the backgrounds of our children. Ironically, the same difference applies to item no. 24, the *telephone*, an item likely to be extremely familiar to the «normative» population. This examiner himself comes from a mountainous village of about one thousand inhabitants where his father's telephone used to be no. 1, out of a total of seven telephones in the entire village . . . My father's current telephone is no. 5, but the total number of telephone subscribers remains the same.

Item no. 21, the *cow* is an example of rank order of item difficulty. While in the population for which the test was standardized, under a certain age, most children tend to have difficulty with items beyond no. 16 or 17, our children would rarely miss item no. 21 «cleft (split) in the cow's foot». This happens for the obvious reason of cultural exposure and rural background experiences. Very meaningful too is the response our population often gives to item no. 23,the *house*. To the question «what is missing in the house?», a rather frequent answer is; «Tiles on the roof». If there ever was a cultural difference in one of the environmental features which most directly shapes our personality, our «habitat», this is certainly one. If I am allowed a poetic deviation, my heart goes out to those children who so readily state that the tiles are missing on the roof. Which tourist is not charmed by the different tones of red tiles on the roof of the most simple and modest house in a rural Portuguese village?

> «Familiarity with things is a sign of contact; an ability to recognize some familiar features in the unfamiliar is

> one of the main characteristics of the human being, as long as his contact with reality is unimpaired.» (5)

A frequent response to item no. 10, the *dresser*, that a vase of flowers on top is missing, translates cultural mores and does not seem to represent what Rapaport calls «loss of distance from the card»(6). But we agree with Rapaport when he says that a low cultural level would tend to produce answers of the undrawn bodies of heads as the missing parts.Frequently we get responses of that kind to items no. 12, 19 and 25.

By and large, however, Picture Completion is one of the most fair subtests for our population. It is my impression that in children from families of low socioeconomic and agricultural background where verbal information is not abundant, a phenomenon of compensation tends to occur. Those children tend to become keen observers and develop fine learning patterns of the visual kind. Since Picture Completion is essentially a test of visual awareness and attention to details, our population will do very well with few exceptions. Contrary to what Rapaport says (7), cultural factors do appear to play some role in this subtest; only this time there seems to be a trend slightly in favor of our minority group children.

SIMILARITIES

According to most writers in the field, this subtest is essentially a measure of verbal concept formation. Such concept development can be expressed in any one of the three levels: concrete, functional, and abstract.

> «Concept formation is the function which informs the human being about the «belonging together» of the objects and events of his everyday world. Each word with which one names an object implies an automatic concept formation, a placing of the object where it belongs in one's world. Every percept implies concept formation, because to identify anything implies determining where it belongs». (8)

When referring to concept formation it helps to keep in mind the old philosophical axiom that nothing is in our thoughts that wasn't first in our senses . . . We will attempt to illustrate how relatively simple, cultural patterns can interfere with cognitive efficiency, and transform the concept formation

into a less automatic process.

Item selection in Similarities is relatively fair to our population in so far as the first 6 items are concerned. But when we come to *cat–mouse*, we find an element of dissonance rather than an element of similarity. The cat, to our rural population, has only one function: to catch and kill the abundant mice which devour the cereals and dried meat in the countryside. The abstract concept of a cat as a pet does not exist; the antagonistic relationship with a mouse is obvious in their minds. The cat eats the mouse and that is it. A functional characteristic strongly outweighs any abstract similarity. The all too vivid experience crept in, with its emotional load and the cognitive dissonance for the subject. Now, if intelligent behaviour is «adaptive» in any particular culture, an «intelligent» response to this similarities question would be difficult for our minority group children.

Item no. 9, *telephone–radio* is a difficult item for our population for a different reason. Our children lack the «hunches» and the familiarity with these objects. Only such familiarity and experience would lead them to make the required association.

Pound–yard (no. 10) can be replaced by «kilo–liter» in examination for cultural equivalence.

Item 12, *scissors–copper pan* raises the issue of possible masking of a functional intelligence in Azorean responses. I have found this to be a typical «missed» item until I decided to use «iron» instead of «copper». If such a substitution would be allowed, our children would get credit for an item they would otherwise miss. Obviously only the test builders would be able to respond for the rationale for basing a specific number of items on functional knowledge while loading others with abstract reasoning ability.

With the above reservations taken into account, Similarities can in my experience be counted amongst the less unfair of the Verbal WISC-R subtests.

PICTURE ARRANGEMENT

«Picture Arrangement is the best single measure of general intelligence (G) among the performance scale tests, particularly at ages 7 1/2 and 10 1/2. When combined with Block Design it provides a good measure of non-verbal general intelligence». (9)

Statements like this which appear to be sound when referring to the «normal» population, would be very misleading if indiscriminately applied to minority group children. The fact that a particular test is not verbally loaded does not make it necessarily culture–fair. Rapaport suggests:

> «In evaluating failures one must keep in mind an objection which has repeatedly been raised against the Picture Arrangement subtest. For our usual clinical population it is a fair test; but for a large part of the general population it is too sophisticated, requiring anticipations of a type that are familiar to readers of such publications as *The New Yorker*. Intelligent persons from a different subcultural background, being unaccustomed to the conventions and devices of wordless cartoon sequences, may therefore be slow in grasping items of this type». (10)

Item no. 3, *Fire*, presents a subtle difficulty. Our population is not accustomed to fire engines roaming the streets – not until they come to this country. Granted, children tend to be fascinated by a fire truck, and our children are no exception. But the lack of familiarity with the scene makes it difficult for the younger Azorean children to discriminate between card no. 3 fire truck coming up the street, and card no. 4 already on the scene.

Item no. 5, *The Burglar*, brings forth in our population what would constitute the delight of any psychoanalyst: the emergence of the super-ego. Rare is the child in our population who misses item no. 5, even if missing one or two of the previous, supposedly simpler items. The fact is that these children come from a background of strict moral values and high respect for other people's rights and property. In some of their villages, even nowadays, the doors are seldom or never locked, and fear of being robbed is practically non-existent. Oftentimes this examiner has heard from these children's parents the statement that they have nothing to fear from God or from society: «I have never stole nor killed» (the only two sins which would apparently leave a black mark on their conscience). A person can project himself as he wishes to be, as he experiences himself to be, or as he fears to be. The latter, undoubtably, is the case of the children we test. Their super-ego is so strung in this regard as to prevent them from failing the task, because they know so well how certain behaviors or actions should not be performed.

ARITHMETIC

> «Arithmetic, says Rapaport, is a good test of eg» . . . Arithmetic is here considered a test of concentration, because to pass the items of this subtest which, excepting for the last two, consist of the four basic calculations, the subject–the average person of our civilization–must

> utilize patterns of arithmetical relations ingrained in him. He must reflect on and deliver the answers from the patterns that he possesses». (11)

This test is relatively unbiased for our population unless a child is auditorily impaired. A few precautions, however, are in order when administering this test to our population. First, introduce the task in a game-like form to allay possible anxiety which tends to enter when the word Mathematics is uttered or even suggested. Second, regarding terminology, when change is in question and the child is probably not yet acquainted with American coinage, it is advisable to refer to the questions using «escudo» instead of «dollar».

As mentioned above, children with difficulties in the auditory modality (be it perception or processing difficulties), will have more depressed scores on this subtest than on tests like the WRAT or the Key Math, where they can compensate for their auditory deficits by using visual and motor kinesthetic clues.

BLOCK DESIGN

> «The analytic and synthetic implied by Block Design is related to the conceptual analysis underlying successful performance of concept-formation tests». (12)

Without any intention to put down a task well conceived and based on a general valid criterion of intelligence, we raise here the same reservations we had raised about the influence of cultural patterns on the concept-formation process, particularly in regard to Similarities. Glasser and Zimmerman, among others, state their enthusiasm for the Block Design subtest which they say:

> «proved to be an excellent measure of general intelligence (G) . . . Block Design, therefore, is one subtest which can be interpreted separately, as a specific measure of perceptual organization and spatial visualization ability, a quality shared with Object Assembly . . . Block Design can be considered an excellent non-verbal measure of intelligence (Cohen, 1959).» (13)

What Glasser and Zimmerman refer to as general intelligence is the product of two main sources: some undefined, genetic (inherited) factors, and environ-

mental influences. To a certain extent there is some preparation for this test when a child, since his very early stages, has all sorts of blocks with which he can play. A foreigner cannot help but be amazed at the amount of play materials available for the average American child. Thus the possibility of laying an early foundation for the ability to analyze, synthesize, and reproduce the abstract, two-dimensional geometric patterns required by the Block Design subtest. It would help any tester to keep in mind that the Fisher Price shape sorter or the other thousand and one toys so readily available to the American child, are infrequently available to the child of our minority group population. For many of our children, «toys» were the universal broomstick (a horse!), and a soccer ball improvised by an old sock filled up and carefully sewn . . .

If we add to this the factor of time, another handicap for our characteristically unhurried island people, we find consolation in Rapaport's following statements dealing with Block Design:

> «Superiority of visual organization does not always indicate superiority of visual motor coordination. The differentiation of the parts to be used may be excellent, yet the handling of the blocks in an effort to find the right face can be fumbling and time wasting; . . . an insecure performance which repeatedly compares the constructed parts with the pattern . . . often enough is detrimental to efficiency». (14)

This examiner has observed that some Azorean children who have had Kindergarten in this country – when blocks and other geometric figures are freely manipulated – seem to indicate more comfortable attitudes toward this subtest, thus getting better results.

With the above considerations it is not my intention to label Block Design as a culturally biased subtest, but simply to suggest that it is not the most culturally fair test in existence. Most important, I wouldn't advocate considering Block Design to be an excellent non-verbal measure of intelligence for our minority group children.

VOCABULARY

Vocabulary is, by its very nature, a troublesome subtest for any minority group child who is obviously different from the population upon which the test was standardized. Culture and language are so intimately related that it

would be an impossible task to devise a vocabulary-based test equally fair to children of different cultures or even subgroups of the same culture. Even if the concepts could be the same, the rank order of item difficulty would vary greatly. In fact, equivalence of concepts and rank ordering of different levels are two inherent problems in test translation and adaptation. Relatively unsophisticated children in our population would know what «migrate» means, even when ignoring the meaning of precedent – supposedly easier – items. Rapaport again states eloquently some of the inherent difficulties plaguing the Vocabulary task:

> «To state it in an exaggerated form, *vocabulary is primarily dependent upon the cultural wealth of early educational environment, and is refractory to improvement by later schooling and life experience* . . . schooling and life experience do enlarge vocabulary to some extent; but we have been impressed by the many persons of culturally poor childhood environment who remain limited in their vocabulary despite schooling and life experiences of great variety.» (15)

Should schooling increase vocabulary for the Azorean child, reinforcement of such learning at home tends to be minimal. Educational gains, hence, are not easily integrated. The home dialogue is limited; the vocabulary tends to be concrete, objective and instrumental. Issues related to groups with verbal intellectual orientation are not easily integrated in our children's extra school repertoire. Therefore, it is self-fulfilling prophecy when they measure low in a Vocabulary task.

When well conceived, however, a culture specific and group specific vocabulary test is a powervul tool for assessing the clarity, conciseness and subtlety of a subject's thought processes as well as his facility in communicating thoughts. In addition, all of these cognitive functions are of central importance to the assessment of ego organization and adaptive behaviour. Until such a delicate and culture specific tool is designed, however, we should rule out Vocabulary subtest as baseline measure, or as the single best estimate of intelligence for the population with whom we deal. Any consciencious psychologist would agree with us. Blatt and Allison do. After stating that, because of its relative invulnerability, reliability and predictive capacity, the Vocabulary subtest offers an excellent baseline to which other tests can be compared, those two Authors come straight to our point:

> «An exception to this general rule occurs when early life experiences have been intellectually impoverished in some way, where intellectual stimulation has been minimal, as in many economically and socially deprived families, and where very early school experience has been irregular and disrupted. With such people one must look to scores other than Vocabulary such as the mean of all the subtests, to establish a baseline for comparison». (16)

OBJECT ASSEMBLY

In dealing with Object Assembly we reiterate the considerations made apropos of Picture Arrangement. What we noted about cartoons not being part of the armamentarium of the children in our population also applied to jigsaw puzzles which our minority group child is very likely to meet for the first time in a testing situation in this culture.

Subjects of average ability can respond to the task and are able to grasp a whole pattern by anticipating the relationship of individual sections, since the objects chosen for the subtest are part of the Western culture. But, as observed in Block Design, the smoothness, accuracy and speed associated with a subject's visual-motor coordination are heightened in habitual and stereotyped motor actions. That is to say; some cultures and experiences prepare the testee for these tasks more than others.

In addition, the experience factor, which generates familiarity with the task, allays anxiety and inhibition, and allows maximum time performance – all elements lacking in our population. We will refer here, by way of example, to an interesting behaviour often exhibited in the performance of the Object Assembly subtest by our minority group children. It has to do with items no. 2 and 3, *Horse* and *Car*. Both the horse and the car are part of the Western

> the pencil shaded areas are the ones frequently omitted by our minority group children.

culture. But the «horse» for the rural child could very likely be a donkey. Similarly, the American car, which I call «a unique animal», is much larger than the very few cars seen around their villages. These subterranean images are perhaps responsible for the frequent omission of central body parts of both the horse and the car puzzle in Object Assembly. (17)

COMPREHENSION

Of all the subtests of the WISC-R, Comprehension is my favorite task for the population with whom I work. With the exception of a few items this subtest offers many possible indicators of intellectual ability, adaptive patterns, and the capacity to learn among our minority children. It would certainly be my contention, that Comprehension, not Vocabulary, should be the baseline subtest from which the scatter could be measured in our population, especially when the subject is a child who had entered the United States after age 6 and who had lived here no longer than 3 to five years at the time of testing.

Note: Due to the heavy weighing of biased items at the end of the Comprehension subtest, older children will necessarily have their IQ scores negatively affected. For this reason, I would not advocate the Comprehension subtest as a baseline with children age 12 1/2 and older in our population.

As mentioned in the introduction, our population has its roots in agrarian villages, in societies of the type that Riesman, Glazer and Denny (1950) have called «traditionally-oriented», and Ausubel (1955) and Margaret Mead (1964) called «shame–cultures».

> «In these tradition - directed societies, children are a great advantage as additional hands to work the land. People are born, live and die within sight of the same hills of home, and their behaviour is controlled by the extended family and by the fact that everyone in the village is watching and evaluating them.» (18)

The norms are clear, the commands are strict, and the Religious observations become an integral part of their lives. The rituals of the seasons structure these children's personality, and, to a point, shape their future.

It is questionable if, within these circumstances, a personal internalized conscience is or is not well developed in these people. Many sociologists opt for the negative, claiming that the controls come from the outside. (19)

Having been born and raised in one of those villages, I lived with too many models of raw but strong inner directed conscience to go along with the generalization. What is important for our consideration here, is to reinstate that these value oriented families imprint upon their children a solid pattern of morality, rectitude and value orientation. No wonder they would tend to excell in the art of exerting good judgement in everyday life situations, which is the main characteristic measured by Comprehension.

Exactly because this subtest is excellent in tapping our children's level of social maturity, modeling and learning patterns, the psychologist's task in giving and interpreting it is more demanding. Our population's individual and cultural differences manifest themselves in their responses to Comprehension, a subtest which looks for consistent behaviours in day to day interactions. A deep cultural awareness of the wise seems to join hands with a keen art of interpretation. Let us now look at a few test items in a more specific manner.

Nothing special about the first item, *cut finger*, except that a few of our children still do not know the band-aid, and they would put a piece of cloth tied with thread around a wound.

The second item however, *find wallet*, would rarely elicit a response indicating that the testee would keep it. When that would be the case (this examiner noted such an answer only three times in over three hundred fifty tests given!), it is a very significant response, as it distances itself from the moral values so dear to the Azorean family. Such an answer in our population indicates a radical shift in the value system and can therefore be indicative of emotional disturbance, especially when confirmed by several other indicators. In our population, a characteristic answer to the question, «what are you supposed to do if you find someone's wallet or pocket book in a store?», is: «pick it up and take it to the Priest». In the villages where they lived, the church is a meeting place, and the Priest would announce from the pulpit at a Sunday mass the important objects lost and found.

Item no. 3, *smoke* coming from a neighbour's house, would occasionally bring as an answer: «go get a bucket and help extinguish the fire». I still can recall the scene from childhood of a long chain of people passing along buckets of water which the courageous men at the front of the line would throw accurately at the raging fire. Likewise, the scene of the super-efficient, noisy and impressive fire trucks of their adoptive country, as much as it fascinates these children, cannot automatically extinguish from their memory the bucket brigades of their childhood.

Item no. 4, *Policemen*. For our population, policemen, more often than

not, are supposed to enforce the the law and that's it. These children were born and raised in a State of dictatorship. Until 1974 (the Portuguese Revolution) both their parents and themselves never knew anything else, and the idea of policemen as helpers of people takes time to implant itself.

No. 6, *lose ball*, gets an automatic restitution response.

No. 7, *build house* of stone, gets correct answers as a rule. These children are in an ideal position to make comparisons, since their simple but sturdier houses in the village were consistently made of stone, brick or cement.

No. 9, *criminals*, gets a routine answer of the type: «They are locked up because of wrongdoing» (fizeram mal). For these children there is no sophisticated concept of specific and individual laws. Rather, there is a central, general idea of the old struggle between good and evil. Criminals for them represent the force of evil; «fizeram mal, fizeram coisas más», and that's that.

Item no. 12, «why is it usually better to give money to a well-known charity than to a street beggar?» provides another example of culture divergence. As far as our population is concerned the question is wrongly stated. When appropriately modified to: «What is better, to give money to a well known charity or to a street beggar?», the answer is invariably «to the street beggar». Needless to say, this being a subtest reflecting socially expected mores, such an answer for our population «deserves» the two points credited in this culture to the opposite answer. Beggars and poor people existed in their villages, and mothers trained little children to be charitable to them. The children, in fact, were the ones sent to the door to give the beggar the small change, a cup of soup, a chunk of bread, an egg or some vegetables. Giving to the beggar, their religious tradition says, amounts to giving to God. No well organized «charity» would compare in their minds to the charity due to beggars. Then again, the well organized charities were hardly known or «present» in their native culture.

Items no. 13, *secret ballot*, and no. 17, *senators*, are definitely culture biased questions for our children who grew up in an atmosphere of tight dictatorship. Ballots and senators for these children and for some of their parents were unknown quantities.

Item no. 14, *paperbacks*, is also a culture-specific item. In all the tests I have given, not a single one from over 350 children ever answered this question as expected, regardless of age or intelligence level.

Item no. 15, «why should a promise be kept?», would more often than not yield the answer: «For fear of God's punishment». Here again another example of concept formation based on a cultural experience. Promises, in their culture, are often made to God and the Saints for a disease to be cured,

a sick child's life to be saved, a fisherman's safe return from the stormy sea or even for their animals not to be touched by an epidemic. In due time, whatever was *promised*, absolutely has to be *paid*.Not only their «word of honor», but their internalized sense of values and morality is at stake. How many of the parents of our children return every summer to their villages to fulfill their promises made for motives such as «a safe trip to America». More often than not the promise was to buy and kill a cow, and distribute the meat among the needy. What a beautiful way of being grateful for their new relative abundance, and mindful, at the same time, of the place and time when they once had just enough to survive.

It is important to stress that the correlations usually made between high scores in Comprehension and low Information or Vocabulary scores, as characteristic indicators of hysteria and repression, are not applicable for our population. A high score in Comprehension in our children denotes material related to issues of morality and superego organization, and is, therefore, very significant. I thoroughly agree with Rapaport when he advocates:

> « . . . making intelligence tests not merely a gauge of IQ, but an experimental tool in the understanding of the everyday functioning and thought processes of human beings. Specifically in connection with the Comprehension subtest do we wish to re-emphasize this point of view. The psychology of thinking tends to be a psychology of «logical thinking», or, at its best, a psychology of «concept formation»; though very important, both of these are only part of everyday thinking and do not explain the functions underlying Comprehension». (20)

Comprehension, it is frequently said, is a test of judgment. Judgment is a rational operation which utilizes both intellectual and emotional functions. But we believe that there are no emotional functions which are a unit by themselves, divested of an intellectual component. Rather, a common sense judgment is the appropriate utilization of knowledge in a wholistic manner. It is for this reason that we advocate having Comprehension, not Vocabulary, as a baseline measure for our population. The other subtests, then, may be viewed as having a positive or negative deviation from this wholistic Comprehension score.

Naturally there are dangers implicit in a subtest such as this one; some of those dangers refer to what Rapaport, Gill and Schafer discuss under the

headings of «vulnerability» of the Comprehension subtest, as stereotyped thinking and dogmatic information transformed into «objective laws». (21) Such dangers of inflexibility in thinking patterns exist, and we should be aware of them. We contend, however, that these are features of clinical interpretation very seldom applicable to our minority group children.

As an intelligence test of the type so eloquently advocated above by Rapaport, the Comprehension test yields what it is supposed to yield for our population. In short, it is a good measure of a learned and assimilated pattern of ethnic and family education, and, as such, is an excellent index of the child's learning ability. By responding to the smoke item with, «I would grab my bucket and go help extinguish the fire», our child shows good judgment, appropriate concept formation and adequate learning ability.

Comprehension is, therefore, the most appropriate type of test for our population. We realize that, as it stands, a few items make it unfair for our older children in particular (examples are items no. 8, 13, 14 and 17). These children would have their scores negatively affected by their inappropriate answers to those items. It is our hope that these notes would make a small contribution towards a better understanding of what these tasks demand of our minority group children. These children deserve that chance to prove whether or not they have been good learners in their formative years, i.e., what they had been educated in all along, as opposed to being tested on a series of tasks to which they are just being introduced later in life in their new adopted culture.

CODING

Coding is essentially a test of psychomotor speed, visual-motor coordination and capacity for imitative behavior. As such it is a relatively culture-fair test. The children in our population exhibit the following handicap, however, in regard to Coding. They have an overwhelming desire to please the teacher or the person in authority. Their village teachers have very likely stressed order, clean bodies and clean work; these students have responded to these stresses. A similar response to the Coding task leads them to proceed slowly, with a special effort to make the marks clearly legible. Self-confidence is a factor here also. The direction pointing to the fact that this subtest is essentially one of speed cannot be emphasized too much with these children.

PERFORMANCE AND VERBAL IQ

By and large, the majority of the children I have tested tend to achieve a higher Performance than Verbal IQ. As an average, their Performance IQ is in

fact 6 or 7 points higher than their Verbal IQ. It is my contention that their Performance IQ is a better translator of their actual potential. Their experiences have tended to emphasize visual awareness and to develop motor functioning skills. Their family patterns and their ethnic background have tended not to place an equal emphasis on ideational skills and verbal ability, so highly esteemed in the American culture and reflected by most tests used with school children.

We have stressed in our analysis of the WISC-R that a test is not necessarily culture-fair just because of the fact that it is a performance test. But, if an IQ has to be utilized as a statement of present ability, I contend that it is the Performance IQ which comes closest to expressing the underlying abilities of these children. The dependence of verbal measures on original wealth of educational environment, starting, of course, by the family, cannot be underestimated. We are speaking, of course, of those children whose performance is not affected by brain damage or any other neurological deficits. The performance vs. verbal equation we are developing is based upon environmental, not organic factors.

In addition, both in the Verbal and especially in the Performance scale, a very important element interferes with maximum performance: TIMING. Portuguese literary writings have traditionally labeled the Azorean as «o mornaça», better translated, perhaps by the English word «Languid». Such label, probably attributed by outsiders from colder European climates to these island people, is certainly a mark of environmental accents. The climate is warm in the Azores, the pace of life is not rushed, the horizons are limited, except, of course, for the view of the ever present Ocean. However, when Azoreans arrive in the United States these brave immigrants are punctual at the factory, and are able to hold two jobs if necessary. But their children are not only unfamiliar with school «factory» testing, but certainly they are not used to the types of testing where time is an essential factor. The English phrase «time is money» is a telling one . . .

In contrast, I am privileged to have lived for three years in an island culture, in the Far East, where I could verify that such a utilitarian use of time is not a universal concept. There were no bridges over the waterways on that island. If in their journey the islanders hit upon a river whose bed was overflown by the heavy rains, they would simply pitch their tents, patiently waiting for two or three days until the water had subsided and they could cross. The Azorean, granted, is not that extremely languid, but it takes more than one step to learn how to perform by the command of the stop watch . . .

The ideal culture-fair test, where is it? The need to assess children from dissimilar cultures has led to the construction of so called Culture-fair tests, where language, reading ability and speed were minimized. Examples would be the Columbia Mental Maturity Scale, the Leiter International, the

Picture Intelligence Test, Cattell's Culture-Fair International Tests, and the Raven's Progressive Matrices. (22)

The problem remains, however, that no test can be simultaneously culture-fair and still be a good instrument to assess a wide range of psychological characteristics. If what we have been looking for is an IQ, then one of those culture-fair tests would «probably» be the answer. In current trends, however, when assessment is superceding testing, the tendency is to put less and less emphasis on IQ and to look for a cluster of characteristics which lend themselves to an intelligent diagnosis of abilities. With those abilities in mind, the industrious teacher, then, will be able to devise an instructional program which will adequately meet the child's needs.

Long as this survey of the WISC-R will appear to be, there still are many problems we haven't been able to touch, so complex is the task at hand. Our intention was to analyze a well-known instrument as it applies to a specific minority group of children. Ingenious methods have been developed in the last decade, to transform the Wechsler Scales into more appropriate tools for assessing individual differentness.

> «Multiple norms using regression equations for estimating the learning potential of Black, Chicano/Latino, and Anglo-American children on the basis of their sociocultural characteristics have been developed for the WISC-R by Mercer and Lewis (in press)». (22)

Research with valuable tools like the Wechsler Scales in the words of Blatt and Allison:

> «... should not only contribute to a refinement of clinical practice but it should also add understanding and knowledge about cognitive processes and how the various ego functions such as memory, perception, concept formation, visual-motor organization, anticipation and planning, are integrated into a variety of modes of adaptation, some limiting and distorting and others allowing for growth and for creative and constructive expression». (23)

This is especially required for any professional who has to work with minority children. When dealing with this type of child, one has to constant-

ly distinguish between that child's *potential and manifest* capacity. The good professional has a sound understanding of and a deep feeling for the legitimacy of differentness. The «exceptional» child – and here we include the immigrant child object of this paper – has a right to be different and to expect the school and society both to understand his difference and to capitalize upon it. The assessment of minority children is, by virtue of the subjects' exceptionality, a very delicate and difficult task, requiring the services of highly sensitive, skilled and qualified persons.

> «Although – as Newland says – sound research is basically needed to show us how to make these processes more scientific and less a matter of art, their results can play a significant part in educational and social planning for, and in our understanding of, the exceptional». (24)

Should the assessment of minority children not follow along these or similar lines, much harm will continue to be done both to society and to these children, even though the children are the most direct and immediate victims of the error. More dramatically (or poetically) expressed, the situation would be as William Golding describes it:

> «They walked along two continents of experience and feeling unable to communicate» – *from the Lord of the Flies.*

Notes

(1) D. Rapaport, M. Gill, and R. Schafer, in *Diagnostic Psychological Testing*, (New York: International University Press, Inc., 1968), p. 48. Since this classical text will be a primary reference in this paper, I will thereafter refer to it as RGS.

(2) *Projective Techniques in Personality Assessment*, edited by A. I. Rabin, (New York: Springer Publishing Co., 1968), p. 424 (footnote).

(3) RGS, p. 86; see also p. 87.

(4) Rabin, p. 433.

(5) RGS, p. 133.

(6) *Ibid.*, p. 134.

(7) *Ibid.*, p. 137.

(8) *Ibid.*, p. 99.

(9) A. J. Glasser and I. L. Zimmerman, in *Clinical Interpretation of the WISC (New York: Grune* & Straton, 1967), p. 78.

(10) RGS, p. 131.

(11) RGS, p. 118.

(12) RGS, p. 150.

(13) A. Glasser and I. L. Zimmerman, p. 83.

(14) RGS, p. 151.

(15) RGS, p. 82.

(16) Rabin, A. I., p. 428 (footnote no. 4).

(17) At a conference on non-biased assessment of minority children, when sharing my reactions to these responses with colleagues, a psychologist who works with children from an island culture, told me that she too had noticed a similar pattern of errors.

(18) George W. Albee, *American Psychologist* (February 1977), p. 151.

(19) *Ibid.*, p. 150 ff.

(20) RGS, p. 91.

(21) RGS pp. 94, 95.

(22) For more on the subject, see Thomas Oakland (Ed.), «Psychological and Educational Assessment of Minority Children», (New York: Brunner/Mazel, 1977), especially pp. 10, 11, 42, 44, 58, 62.

(23) *Ibid.*, p. 85.

(24) W. Cruikshank, *Psychology of Exceptional Children and Youth*, (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1971), p. 168.

Bibliography

Alatis, James E. 1970. Bilingualism and Language Contact. Georgetown University Press, Washington, D.C.

Coordinating Office for Regional Resource Centers. *Non-biased Assessment of Minority Group Children, With Bias Toward None.* University of Kentucky, Lexington.

Cruickshank, William M. 1971. *Psychology of Exceptional Children and Youth.* Prentice Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey.

Engle, Patricia Lee. *The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education.* Center for Applied Linguistics, Arlington, Virginia.

Geffert, H., Harper, R., Sarmiento, S., and Schember, D. *The Current Status of Bilingual Education Legislation.* Center for Applied Linguistics, Arlington, Virginia.

Oakland, Thomas, Editor. 1977. *Psychological and Educational Assessment of Minority Children*, Brunner/Mazel, New York.

Paulston, Christina Bratt. *Implications of Language Learning Theory for Language Planning: Concerns in Bilingual Education.* Center for Applied Linguistics, Arlington, Virginia.

Rabin, A. I., Editor. 1968. *Projective Techniques in Personality Assessment*, Springer Publishing Co., New York.

Rapaport, David, Gill, Merton M. and Shaefer, Roy. 1976. *Diagnostic Psychological Testing* , International University Press, New York.

Region 9 Task Group on Non-biased Assessment, November 1976. *A Position Paper on Non-biased Assessment of Culturally Different Children*, Northeast Regional Resource Center, Hightstown, New Jersey.

Saville-Troike, Muriel. *Bilingual: A Resource Document*. Center for Applied Linguistics, Arlington, Virginia.

Thonis, Eleanor Wall. 1977. *Teaching Reading to Non-English Speakers*. Collier MacMillan Publishers, New York.

A Profile of the Azorean

Onésimo T. Almeida
Brown University

INTRODUCTION

It is both presumptuous and ludicrous to analyze a creature that does not, in fact, exist. This paradox strikes hard at the present task, since there is truthfully no such thing as «The Azorean», any more than there is some quintessential «American».

Despite a theoretical willingness to acknowledge the truth of this statement, our society nevertheless relies heavily on stereotypes and clichés about social groups. And here I again face the task of portraying a group to which I belong and about which I can say progressively less the more I learn about it. For indeed, generalizations about human cultures steadily lose both objectivity and accuracy as they increasingly attempt to be definitive, detailed statements.

In addition to the usual difficulties inherent in the social sciences, (namely those arisen from the fact that the subjects doing the observing are inevitably part of the objects being observed), this paper's objectivity is perhaps further limited, at least potentially, by the fact that this author is himself an Azorean.

On the other hand, in areas of this country where Azorean immigrants are concentrated, there exists a real need for a greater degree of understanding of certain aspects of Azorean life and culture. That need both justifies and begs for some rough characterization of the Azorean people. Because hundreds of schoolteachers in this country work on a daily basis with Azorean immigrant children, and further, because many of these teachers have expressed having great difficulty in understanding those children's habits, values, and beliefs, it is fully appropriate to attempt a broad sketch of the Azorean. In order to minimize the limitations inherent in such a generalized treatment, the discussion will consider the various major sub-groups of Azoreans separately.(1)

The following descriptions of the Azoreans and their character will draw heavily on the observations of Vitorino Nemésio (2), Arruda Furtado (3) and

Luís Ribeiro, (4) whose intuitions and perspicacity concerning the Azores and her people far surpass that of most writers on the subject. The fact that all three are Azoreans may lend support to current criticisms of the application of natural sciences methodologies to the social sciences. (5)

This analysis will also refer to the work of Raúl Brandão, (6) and Joseph and Henry Bullar, (7) three outsiders whose accounts of the islands are outstanding among the extensive travel literature about the Azores.

The present paper is divided into two main parts: The first is a largely descriptive attempt to characterize the Azoreans. This will be followed by attempts to explain or better yet, to understand, *why* the Azoreans are what they are.(8) The reader is cautioned throughout to bear in mind the inevitable limitations, briefly mentioned above, of an enterprise of this nature.

I – CHARACTERIZATION OF THE AZOREAN TYPES

According to Vitorino Nemésio, there are three major and distinct character types in the Azores. The first is the *Micaelense* (from the island of São Miguel), (9) and the other two belong to the *ilhas de baixo*. (10) These latter groups are the *Terceirense* (from Terceira), and the *Picaroto* (from Pico). Each of these is best considered as an ideal type, since in actuality none is entirely homogeneous. In particular, as noted by Nemésio, the latter two groups intermingle «to a point of much confusion.» (11)

The *terceirense* ethnologist Luís Ribeiro, in his insightful *Subsídios para um Ensaio sobre a Açorianidade,* agrees with Nemésio's groupings. Ribeiro succinctly characterizes the three types:

> «the *Micaelense* is the hardest worker of the archipelago and is also the most different from the mainlander – rough, industrious, sturdy, and tenacious; while the Azorean from the Central and Western Islands is affable, somewhat cunning, fond of festivities, indolent; and finally, the *Picaroto,* dividing his time between land and sea, is vigorous, wholesome, sometimes heroic, and always takes life seriously.» (12)

Ribeiro to some extent summarizes the analyses of Nemésio, Furtado, and others before him. The following is Nemésio's description of the first type, the *Micaelense*:

One might conceivably describe the «typical» Azorean as having an affinity for hard work, and possessing an outer gentleness which conceals a rough core. In actual fact, however, this one prototypical Azorean does not exist. There are, rather, two or three predominant types among the islanders, each distinct from the others.

The *Micaelense* (with the *Mariense,* from Santa Maria, as a related subgroup) is unique in several respects. Of all the islanders, he is without doubt the most different from the continental Portuguese. His entire being, from his speech to his rough features, is pervaded by an extreme insularity, an insularity so strong that it sets him rigidly apart from other men.

Perhaps he was shortchanged during Nature's parceling out of life's goods, and perhaps those goods were showered preferentially on the other islanders; for whatever reason, it is the *Micaelense* that raises the hoe highest in the digging, that carves the deepest furrow in the land, and that sows the waiting soil most vigorously.

Furthermore, the *Micaelenses* have traditionally been most successful in business matters. They industrialized their agriculture remarkably well, making a smooth transition from routine production of bread, wine and vegetables to export crops such as pineapple, tea and sugarbeets. Not content with the role of mere producer, however, the *Micaelense* soon became heavily involved in transportation and communications between the islands and the mainland eventually monopolizing both arenas. Thus, *Micaelense* pineapples were shipped in large numbers, by *Micaelenses,* to the ports of England and Germany.

A stranger to Ponta Delgada gets the impression that he is visiting a convent of merchants. The streets are all narrow, and the houses are monotone in color, with low, dark roofs. Between the houses lie neatly partitioned, carefully fenced-in gardens. The people seem very shy, and the men all speak with an irritating resonance. They have an unusual aptitude for all kinds of hard work, and

> are remarkably resistant to the hardships heaped constantly upon them. In the end, the *Micaelenses* somehow manage to remove or overcome those hardships. (13)

Arruda Furtado's characterization of the *Micaelense* is often harshly worded, yet incisive. Being himself a *Micaelense,* Furtado perhaps felt that he could use such language without running the risk of *bairrismo* (regional bias and pride). On the other hand, it may simply be that Furtado's style is that of a surgeon turned social scientist (or vice versa), whereas Nemésio's is that of a creative writer and, above all, of a poet.

According to Furtado,

> The *Micaelenses* are much more easily characterized than the other Azoreans. They are robust, slow yet persistent in their work, and active in the sowing and harvesting of crops. They stick with the routines of their work, sometimes with such precision that they seem almost obsessive. They have successfully adapted their farming methods to the peculiarities of the island soil, and they till their land with extreme care. In all of São Miguel, not one parcel of land lies wasted. (14)

Furtado then elaborates on what he considers to be the key characteristic differentiating the *Micaelense* from the other Azoreans:

> In identifying the general trait which most accurately distinguishes people of São Miguel from the rest of the Azorean people, (and noting that the *Micaelenses* quickly reveal their strong retention of very intense feelings), we would single out the strong showing of physical force, and a rough frankness in manners . . . (15)

Furtado sees the behavior of the *Micaelense* as thoroughly pervaded by this male roughness, which has thereby made him «an essentially prosaic people».

As Furtado points out,

> In jokes between men and women, in the recounting of old loves, in satire – in short, in everything, our peasants show a roughness of manners, a great rudeness of feeling. It is worth stressing this point, not because we would expect peasants to show a politeness that rarely exists in the upper classes, but because this rudeness distinguishes them at least from all other islanders, if not from continental Portuguese of the same social class. It stands in sharp contrast to the rest of the Azoreans whose speech is, in the words of Teófilo de Braga, « *quase contabile* ». That speech seems to us to be ridiculous and artificial, but it is actually consistent with a truly different way of being, which lends itself thoroughly to that soft melody of speech and delicacy of manners . . . Our peasants, nonetheless, are persistent in a way that makes them stubborn. Furthermore, they generally possess great courage and energy . . . (16)

Along the same lines, Furtado continues:

> The poetry of our people reveals a complete absence of romantic love . . . Of all Azorean literature, the popular poetry of S. Miguel is least elaborate and least varied . . .(17)

This matter of the *Micaelense's* artistic sensibility and creativity has been controversial. Furtado seems to be both accurate and fair when he writes:

> «The *Cantar ao desafio* (18) is a favorite diversion . . . It is the only activity that reveals some constructive imagination; improvisations are rapid and off the cuff, sometimes proud and almost always extremely satirical. The *viola* (small Portuguese guitar) is the only instrument of the people of São Miguel. Whatever lack of natural inclination towards music may seem to exist, it is a fact that a strong musical affinity quickly blossoms under the right conditions . . . The number of musical groups on the is-

> land is remarkable, the courage with which peasants lay down their hoe for their instrument after a full day of work is truly admirable . . .
> In addition to their excellent ear for music, our poetry is marked by an extraordinary power of description. The poetry of our people swiftly and skillfully puts our every intimate experience into verse, yet without imaginative imagery or metaphors. This poetry is a purely descriptive art form . . . (19)

While Furtado lays special stress on the lack of creativity, he recognizes some general good taste within the ecological environment:

> Our carpenters can build a piece of furniture well when given an accurate model to work from . . . The architecture of the public buildings testifies to the absolute lack of taste among the former ruling classes . . . This is not at all the case with our gardens, whose opulent growth and precisely arranged flowers are admired by the most sophisticated foreigners . . .
> People throughout the island have a passionate love of gardening and of working amidst the strong fragrance of their favorite plants, among the lively colors and perfume of the flowers. (20)

The Bullar's diary also includes several perceptive insights concerning the *Micaelense*:

> These people are of great constitutional sensibility . . . Their virtues and vices depend considerably on this constitutional sensibility . . . They are eminently good-tempered, willing to oblige, and fearful to offend; merry, inquisitive, and excitable, having the simple tastes, capabilities of being pleased with little things, orderly manners, and strong attachments to the places in which they are born, which belong to a state of society fast passing away.

> The poor are industrious when they can procure employment, and willing to work hard for a very trifling remuneration. Their laziness is more apparent than real; for when unemployed they spend all their idle time out of doors in the sun. They make good boatmen, fishmen, and mechanics excelling particularly in those arts which require imitation rather than invention. (21)

Here the Bullars seem to agree with Furtado's assessment of Azorean creativity. To this day, Furtado is still chastised for his opinion in this regard.(22) However, his critics do not provide any counter-evidence. They merely insist on the «great sensibility» of the Azorean and thereby confuse two distinct qualities. Although there is some relation between sensibility and creativity, they obviously are not synonymous.

Although ostensibly referring to both sexes, these characteristics of the Azorean tend to apply largely to the behavior of the male. Aware of this limitation, Furtado has taken care to include some specific observations about the women of São Miguel:

> The married woman is active and earnest in her work . . . Clothes are always clean and perfumed . . . the floor is always swept . . . She works far more diligently than the island husbands. (23)

Based solely on his own experience and intuition, and thus lacking any hard empirical evidence, Furtado claims that the women «often seem more intelligent (than the men), and are at least more frank and uninhibited.»(24) Furtado goes on to generalize that they are tasteless and apathetic in their expressions. (25)

We should now move on to the other major Azorean sub-groups. Here again, Vitorino Nemésio's observations are useful:

> The other two types of Azorean come from the *ilhas de baixo* (the seven Western islands). Both types frequently intermingle to a point of much confusion. The first, the *Terceirense*, includes not only the inhabitants of Terceira

but those of Graciosa as well. The second, in many respects the cream of the islanders, is the native of Pico.

Whereas the *Micaelense* is marked by a certain roughness, the *terceirense* is noted for his almost suave politeness, some cunning, and most notably, a kind of chivalry. That chivalry is both testimony and legacy to a half century's occupation of Terceira by the Castillians. (26) The *Terceirense* is the most convivial and party-going of the islanders, putting by far the most energy into celebrating the yearly feasts and festivals. Most of his time is devoted to agriculture and animal husbandry. His work in the fields and pastures is so intimately connected with his favorite diversions, that the work itself is almost a kind of celebration. This is so in part because the bull provides one of his chief pleasures. Each year, during the season of the feasts of the island's twenty-seven patron saints, work is continued only until midday. At noon, all the workers take off. The roads quickly fill with crowds, bulls are let loose, and bullfights spring up in various locations . . . But the *Terceirense's* most typical feasts are those of the Holy Ghost. These have truly become a social institution. They are celebrated in each town with tremendous energy and dedication, very much as home town events.

The man of Pico (also called the *Picoense*, or, most expressively, the *Picaroto*) has quite a different character and ethic. I referred to him above as the cream of the islanders. He surpasses all other Azoreans in the seriousness of his life view, yet this seriousness is tempered, all the while, by an ingenuity that makes him triumphant in almost all of his endeavors. He is physically the most handsome, frequently overshooting the highest mark on the standard military scales. Furthermore, he is almost always a great rifleman. But most importantly the true *Picaroto's* traditional vocation is the sea. He may work perfectly well in vineyards and gardens and will prune an orchard with ease; he is equally adept at carrying grain to a mill.

> But at any moment he is ready to drop his tools and jump into a boat in the never-ending saga of the whale. This is his destiny in the world, his beginning and his end. Thus we see him repeatedly throughout history in ocean-bound campaigns going from port to port briefly moving onto one of the central islands, and eventually returning with the objects of his pursuit: the oil of the sperm and the sperm and the precious amber of the whale. (27)

There is general agreement that the *Terceirense* is «the most fun of the Azoreans» (28) and also that the people of Pico are generally more lively, agile and joyful. (29) This latter trait is usually attributed to the fact that Pico's climate is dryer, sunnier and more healthful than on the other islands. In other words, Pico's is the «least Azorean» of the island climates. (30)

So much for the differences between the various subgroups. It must be remembered that while considerable inter-group distinctions do exist, all of these groups are first and foremost, Azoreans. In general, the similarities between all Azoreans outweigh differences between individual subgroups. In this vein, Ribeiro stresses that Nemésio's typings do not define absolutely differentiated groups, and argues that differences between them are primarily differences in degree of certain traits rather than fundamental differences in basic qualities. (31) Probably the only major exception involves the *Micaelense*; there does seem to be a general consensus concerning his particularly outstanding nature. It was for this reason that the preceding discussion devoted so much attention to that group. (32)

Most writers on the subject agree that a number of broad, typically Azorean characteristics are shared by all the islanders. For instance, there is widespread agreement concerning the dominant tones of lethargy and quietism which pervade the Azorean lifestyle. Nemésio's observations reflect this view:

> The Azorean's domestic movements are sluggish, and his energy seems to have been dampened by the humidity. He appears indolent. He fails to react sufficiently, perhaps, in politics, religion, and in all of the categories that require a kind of dispassionate effort while at the same time demanding commitment to the battle of feelings and ideas. He is truly weak in these realms. He gives an impression of being spineless and unwilling to take risks in a de-

cisive manner. (33)

The Azoreans are seen as possessing a character that is deeply religious, good natured, submissive, indolent, sensitive, pacific, orderly, family oriented, industrious, nostalgic and somewhat sad. (34) That character is deeply endowed with a strong sense of family responsibility, one which transmits to children a worldview calling for adherence to a hard-work ethic (35) and to well-disciplined obedience. Because most of these characteristics are shared with societies throughout Southern Europe, (36) particularly with traditionally conservative, (37) rural (38) and Catholic populations, (39) they need not be greatly elaborated on here. (40)

Of all the aforementioned traits, the Azorean's deep religious sentiment should be stressed. It can be said that above all in the Azores there is religion, but a religion which does not necessarily entail a commitment to church activities. That religion is expressed in part through the cult of Santo Cristo on São Miguel, the Espírito Santo (Holy Spirit) and the Virgin Mary, throughout all the islands. Those are all as much a part of life in all the islands as air and bread. (41)

This religiosity carries with it an especially strong sexual ethic. It fails, however, to generate a strong sense of community or collective responsibility in the arena of world affairs. Although the Azorean is very altruistic on sentimental occasions, particularly when that altruism is dictated by religious ethics, he is strongly individualistic in most matters.

The dearth of collective spirit has been crudely stressed by José Enes. Although this situation changed somewhat after the 1974 Portuguese revolution, it still applies fundamentally today:

> The mass of workers and employees, who serve the island s aggregate of large (only a few), middle-sized and small capitalists show no class spirit. Despite the *de jure* existence of labor unions, the workers are not united.
>
> And what about the agricultural masses, which comprise 70% of the Azorean population? Most Azorean agricultural workers are likewise dominated by a profound individualism and distrust in their relationships within their own social group. In some cases they also reflect a certain sourness towards the superior social classes.
>
> A small percentage of the fishermen can be included,

> in terms of general spirit, in the class of agricultural workers. (42)

The fragmentation of social and political life is strongly manifested through the phenomenon of *bairrismo,* or island rivalry. Each island acquires a special meaning for its inhabitants, and great inter-island antagonisms exist which often polarize any given pair of islands. This is especially true for any two islands that face one another geographically, or that have close ongoing administrative or economic ties. (43)

A recent study notes that the Azorean people appear to be characterized by behavioral patterns which generally oppose associative cooperation. On the other hand, it stresses that a number of factors do indeed favor some cooperative spirit. These include:

> The widespread practice of mutual and reciprocal help among people, social pressures (and the absence of specific humanitarian motives behind those pressures) the adhesive effect of neighborhood pride and rivalry, a sense of community belonging in recreational pursuits and the persistence of certain cooperative structures within various activities. (44)

Reinforcing each of these characteristics is the fatalistic worldview which, rooted both in religion and in the environment, dominates the islands.

It should be pointed out that, relative to other nationalities, the Azoreans do not differ tremendously from the mainland Portuguese. As Ribeiro points out, the culture which the Portuguese brought to these islands underwent changes that were more quantitative than qualitative. By this he means that fundamental traits common to both the Portuguese and the Azoreans became either exaggerated or toned down in the latter. Such changes in degree generally outweighed the introduction of entirely new basic characteristics. As examples of the quantitative changes, Ribeiro cites

> the exaggerated *saudosismo,* the intensification and transformation of the religious spirit, the attraction of the sea which made emigration almost an instinctive necessity, the maintenance of ideas, beliefs, superstitions, and customs which have disappeared.

The qualitative changes, although less important, include the acquisition by the Azoreans of

> . . . apathy and a sense of moderation, a certain degree of subservience and the substitution of lyricism for satire.(45)

The *saudade* (nostalgia) and *provincianismo* (46) characteristic of the mainland Portuguese worldview are particularly acute in the Azores. Similarly crucial are the lyricism and tenderness that pervade Azorean attitudes towards everything. These qualities are widely reflected in the language, through the constant use of the diminuitive forms *inho* and *inha* (little this, little that). (47)

The above mentioned characteristics all lead to conformity with the *status quo*. The Azorean is generally apathetic and indifferent towards participation in any community affairs other than religious activities. Hundreds of years of collective frustration and continuous disillusionment under various ruling systems have robbed him of all faith in government as a means of solving his problems. He has been left with faith in no one but himself. Historically, emigration has been considered by many to be the only real means of betterment. This attitude has reinforced the alienation of those still in the islands from their socio-political struggles, driving them all the more quickly to escape as the only viable, but painful choice.

II – a) THE ECOLOGICAL INFLUENCES

So much for a characterization of the Azorean people. In order to progress beyond a merely impressionistic description of their behavior and worldview, it is useful to attempt to understand the circumstances, constraints, and historical processes that have helped to shape the Azorean character.

Indeed, the constant volcanic threat hovering over the islands, the presence of the sea, the relentless insularity of island life, (both the individual isolation of each of the nine islands as well as the overall isolation of the entire archipelago from the rest of the world), and the constant humidity under heavily clouded skies; served to strongly condition a culture whose underlying heritage came from mainland Portugal. (48) That culture was then maintained and enforced in the islands for five centuries by a socio-political structure which prohibited change.

The spirit of both islands and islanders has been beautifully captured by several Azorean poets. Almeida Firmino, who lived in Pico and who recently put an end to his life, wrote this *quadra* entitled *A ilha*:

Eternally the same horizon
—sea, mist, the island in view
On their return, the seagulls say
that never more will it be different. (49)

Ruy Galvão de Carvalho, in his *Poema Açoriano,* says:

This tarnished sky, this damp,
the long, steady monotony of the sea,
the loneliness that grinds in the pain . . .
This sun behind the clouds, the mist
that jars my nerves and enters my bones,
All this is island, my love. (50)

A similar view is conveyed by still another stark verse, *Ilha,* by Pedro da Silveira:

«Island»:
Closed sky, hovering heron. Open sea!
A distant boat's hungering prow
eyeing forever those bountiful Californias. (51)

Nearly all written work on the Azores stresses a particular kind of osmosis that occurs between the natural environment and the people. The humidity, the sea, the vulcanic activity and the clouds are most often the forces that generate what the Bullars termed «the Azorean torpor.» These psycho-telluric interactions, so to speak, are illustrated in a number of writings. Several of these will now be briefly examined.

Luis Ribeiro described those relationships as follows:

> The humidity of the temperate climate, determining the peculiar indolence of the Azorean, coupled with a sadness caused by the landscape, helped to establish a servile and humble attitude which was generally and easily adopted. (52)

In a separate passage Ribeiro turns specifically to the influence of the sea:

> The contemplation of the sea makes men dreamers, saddens and depresses them with its monotony. The green of the land, the blue of the sea, sometimes dreadfully dark, sometimes whitened by the clouds, seen in the subdued and diffuse light filtered through the clouds, increase the sadness of the environment and spread sadness in the soul already downtrodden by the effect of the temperature. The sea is thus one more factor of the indolence of the *saudosismo* (nostalgia) of everything that makes the Azorean somnolent and apathetic . . . The rhythmic cadence of the waves and of the tides regulates his slow steps and wooden gestures, gives a tone to his drawl and song-like intonation, wrinkles his face and sharpens his sight. (53)

Raúl Brandão, a Portuguese writer, visited the islands during the 1920's. He saw them through the eyes of an artist concerned primarily with light and colors, and the resultant descriptions are both subjective and highly intuitive. Through them he has created a painting, in words, of the Azorean soul, a painting that is at times somewhat expressionistic. The symbiosis that exists, in his eyes, between the environment and the people occasionally make it difficult for the reader to distinguish the two in his writings. The following are some of his lines:

> Immutable sky, fog that settles as a blight, discreet light in which all things lose their importance and forms their depth . . . Within this stagnant air, sound itself dies . . . The day is an eternal day of death . . . (54)
> Dull, sad white . . . Things stand out very little . . . Abstraction and dreams. Because in this perpetual dawning man dreams more than he sees. He daydreams.(55)
> Silence . . . a color that never becomes a color, that is resignation and longing and forces us to speak in a muted hush . . . (56) Even beings and things must grow mold within themselves. (57)
> Phantasmagorical weather. The landscape is tranquility personified, with a touch of sadness . . . It is a chaste landscape . . . (58)

> Gray is predominant throughout . . . (59) the green, muted and humid . . . Within this very sadness exists I don't know what kind of innocence.(59) This green, eternally green, falling into a damp sleep, is by nature docile and serene. (60)
>
> All is so white and still, that time seems to have forever halted its march. (61)
>
> These gray days of wedded sun and fog belong to the Azores alone. (62)

Further insights into the relationship between weather and spirit are found in the work of Joseph and Henry Bullar. The brothers' journals frequently refer to the island climates. The following passage is particularly curious:

> Although the climate of this town is nearly unexceptionable, I am not sorry that the English climate is unlike it; for, with the same warmth at home, instead of Englishmen being what they are, they would have grown up a race of lazy, donkey-riding paupers. It is impossible to live here and not to feel the influence of that spirit of laziness which seems to have settled over the island. If you go into the street, the people you see are sauntering, or sitting in the sun, or riding on asses; taking life as easy as if the curse of eating their bread by the sweat of their brow had never fallen upon them. Yet they appear no less happy, and perhaps, are more contented than richer and more restless Englishmen. They have fewer hardships to contend with than paupers who live among frost and snow. They appear to be constitutionally good-natured; and the common people of this town are said to be willing workmen, whenever they can get work to do. (63)

Arruda Furtado notes that there is no liveliness in the behavior of the *Micaelense,* and wonders to what extent this may be caused by the climate. As he points out:

> The climate and living conditions are entirely opposed to

> the nourishment of this quality . . . *Micaelenses*, if ever active before, are not so today: they work, standing up to the toughest stresses, yet every action, even in the midst of the most difficult labor, is measured in slowness. In the face of the greatest demands, their sluggishness exceeds that of other peoples. (64)

To further support his notion that the climate is the underlying cause, he adds that

> everyone who visits the continent says that they seem to undergo a transformation within their very being. The change occurs immediately, merely upon entering the dry air and seeing the sky, which is far cleaner and of immensely greater depth. They seem to have become agile, indeed, to have been entirely remade. (65)

The effects of both the humidity and the gray, heavy skies upon peoples' behavior are stressed in almost all writings about the islands. Santos Barros wrote a volume of poems whose title is in fact *Humidity*. (66) One of the poems marvelously portrays the feelings of a human being during a typical gray, humid island day:

> Here the air is heavy
> which, for being heavy sticks to us
> and hangs on the shroud
> from mast to island
>
> here the air is heavy
> and the nightmare of its feel
> even to the inside and so slowly
>
> here on board, o would that
> one could soften the harsh bite
> of the night, the rain and her sound
>
> but we float as one light,
> weighted within by the
> nausea of heavy air. (67)

The suffering herein brought on by leaden skies is not the consequence of any social or philosophical revolt peculiar to the twentieth century. Roberto de Mesquita, who was born and lived in Flores during the nineteenth century, filled his poems with references to the weather. The following lines are from a poem originally entitled in English, «Spleen»:

> December, rain-laden day. From
> this matted sky comes a mortal spleen,
> drowning souls like men
> engulfed in an ocean of sludge.
>
> Looking about me, everything
> has an air of disgust without hope . . .
> The hours creep on, morose like slugs
> slithering across our boredom.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Dense and gray, the sky reaches out,
> tarnishing all within its spread,
> shrouding and choking what life remains in men's souls . . .
> Out of this leaden morning grows a mortal spleen. (68)

Ribeiro reiterates this message in his mundane but forceful style, amplifying somewhat on the nature and extent of the phenomenon:

> All energies are crushed by that monotonous atmosphere, and that monotony is the source of the Azorean's indolence. This varies somewhat from island to island, being least stifling in São Miguel and Pico and perhaps most dulled in Terceira and São Jorge. The most lively people are those from Pico which, by some geological virtue, is the dryest of the islands.
>
> The heavy humidity in turn creates great cloudiness. The sky is rarely free of clouds, and often appears as an infinite blanket of gray. The sorrow and haze of the land produce a dismal tone within the soul, dismal to the spir-

> it like indolence to the body. All this is perhaps reinforced by the monotonous lapping of the ocean swell, and the endless horizon of the sea. (69)

The archipelago lies profoundly cut off from the external world. Even today they remain two hours by plane from Lisbon, and four and one half hours from Boston. Isolation from the outside aggravates isolation between individual islands; both exert a tremendous effect on peoples' lives. The impact of isolation upon social and political structures shall be discussed shortly. At this point, it is useful to consider the psychological effects on the individual. Isolation is felt to varying degrees, depending in part on the size and character of a given island. Certain groups of people on several of the larger islands enjoy relatively greater physical mobility and varied social exposure than do most Azoreans.

Raúl Brandão was almost frightened by the sense of isolation he encountered on several islands. His experience on Flores left him with the following:

> The strongest feeling with which I left these vulcanic lands, these lands whose mountains hang suspended behind the towns as if threatening to bury them, like a wave of rock that froze suddenly, – the overpowering feeling was a deep fear of isolation. The people are condemned to feeling lost, sentenced forever to the single unchanging view before them. An entire life faced by this, with nowhere to run other than death . . .
>
> Every village that sits on the edge of the sea, facing the water, waits for ships, for news, and for immigrants.(70)

Still capturing the feeling of Flores, Brandão continues:

> . . . glued to the windows beneath glass panes, sad faces of old people wait for longer than one can remember for someone to pass by, and no one passes by. It is here that habit lays down her roots . . . (71)

This has all been put in two lines by Pedro da Silveira:

Outside of us
nothing happens. (72)

Much of the literature of the islands reflects similar sentiments. Roberto da Mesquita titled his single book of poems *Almas Cativas* (Captive Souls). Gaspar Fructuoso (1522-1591), one of the first Azorean «sages», appropriately captured the island syndrome in the title of his six-volume work, *Saudades da Terra*, which crudely translates as «Nostalgia of the land». The word *saudades* seems to refer to a pervasive longing for the motherland which dominated the feelings of the islands' first settlers.

This island syndrome affects the individual Azorean in countless ways. His worldview is shrunken considerably simply because his world itself is so small. (73) Being stuck in the middle of the ocean creates a feeling of abandonment which erodes hope, instead producing fatalism. The islander feels wholly engulfed by the elements, and beyond mere engulfment, he feels imprisoned. Furthermore, this feeling is unconscious among these people who have never had much exposure to the outside world.

Vitorino Nemésio again has a useful contribution here:

> A kind of drunkness of isolation impregnates the soul and actions of every islander. It structures men's spirits and searches gropingly for an almost religious conviviality, in short, for that which we lacked the fortune to receive at birth. The essential nature of life in the Azores was not created by the first human colonization of the islands. It was blueprinted in an earthly past which geologists may reduce to a precise number of years, if they wish . . . We are welded historically to this land from which we have come; our roots are by nature within these mountains of lava. Some substance, oozing out from volcanic guts, has penetrated our souls. Geography inviolably means as much to us as history, and it is no idle coincidence that at least fifty percent of our written records are accounts of floods and earthquakes. Like the mermaids' ours is a double nature: we are built of flesh and stone. Our eyes submerge themselves in the sea . . . The sea is our pathway not merely to earthly realization, but spiritual realization as well. (74)

But as is widely admitted in anthropology, «isolation, of itself, can explain very little». (75) This inquiry should therefore move on to other, possibly stronger, influences.

Volcanic activity on the islands has played an especially strong role in shaping both the life and worldview of the Azorean people. Volcanic activity has been and is a constant menace, making its presence felt with unfailing regularity and often terrifying force. Azorean history is strewn with residue and horror of both earthquakes and eruptions. (76)

The influence of volcanism on people is devastating, as noted by Ribeiro:

> Within man, and even within animals, an earthquake provokes a strong feeling of uncertainty and doubt, a constant dread, that leaves deep impression on his way of being.
>
> During a vulcanic eruption or an earthquake, man feels both his own weakness and the power of the unfathomable natural forces around him, with unusual violence. Surprised, terrorized, he seeks desperately for the shelter of divine protection, because the forces unleashed about him vastly exceed his every possiblility of defence. He turns, therefore, to God in order that He may save his life, or at least bless him with an easy death. Under the threat of seeing everything about him that had seemed to defy eternity destroyed, he understands the fragility of all that is material and earthly. His horror at the hands of destruction and annihilation give him a sense, far greater than ever before, of that which is truly eternal and omnipotent. (77)

Raúl Brandão has also interpreted the volcanic nature of the islands and its effect on the people. He writes:

> There is an agony here which only exists in Naples. I am oppressed by these mountains. I am crushed by this black solitude. The sea alone offers any release. (78)

Many of the religious cults that originated in the Azores arose through

efforts to placate God's wrath, as expressed by eruptions and earthquakes. All of the islands' major religious celebrations have some underlying connection to natural disasters. These relationships are clearly evidenced in a number of religious events. The tradition of the *Romeiros* (79) for instance, was begun in direct response to several vulcanic disasters. Similarly, the cult of Santo Cristo owes much of its development to geological tragedies.

Given that the nature and extent of natural upheavals varied somewhat from island to island, it is not surprising that the religious spirit of the people exhibits some regional differences. Ribeiro points out that:

> The people of São Miguel are the most religious of all the islanders. Their religion is sincere, rather than fanatical, but it is built upon fear, and sometimes even of a kind of misty terror. This aspect of the religious spirit is reflected in the widespread belief in divine *punishment*. Punishment not only takes the form of devastating catastrophes, but may also come in the form of smaller mishaps, such as the death of a housepet, a poor harvest, or an illness.(80)

A tremendous number of religious events, primarily processions of penance, have their origins in some promise or vow to God, the Virgin Mary, the Holy Spirit, (81) or the Saints. Promises made by local people were frequently institutionalized and made into town or regional law. Some of the vows that are still faithfully being kept today have been enumerated and described by Júlio da Rosa. These include:

> The procession of *Cinzeiro* and the *Romarias* during Lent in S. Miguel; the penance processions during August in Raminho (Terceira), Feteira and Flamengos (Faial), Madalena, Bandeiras, and Sta. Luzia (on the border of Pico); Our Lady of the Miracles, in Cachorro; the *Império dos Nobres* and the Vow to *Sto. Cristo* on February 1 by the county of Horta; the *bodos de vêsperas*, on September 21, in São Mateus of Pico; the Holy Ghost in Praia do Norte (Faial); and the Vows to St. Sebastian by the counties of Angra do Heroísmo, Ponta Delgada and Horta. (82)

As mentioned earlier, the nature and manifestations of religion vary somewhat between the different islands. Ribeiro addresses this point in his analysis:

> Secular celebrations on Terceira are more lively and exuberant, yet vary widely in how well they are integrated into the actual religious ceremonies. Religious spirit is generally healthier and less timid on São Jorge and Pico, and is certainly no less respectful and sincere. Despite these minor regional differences, however, there is a deep-rooted fear of divine punishment within the souls of all Azoreans. Throughout the islands, the image of God as vengeful and terrible is far stronger than His image as Merciful or Loving. (83)

In summary, religion helps to shape the worldview of the Azoreans and generates an ethos which is pervaded and consolidated by a fear of punishment. (84)

b) THE INFLUENCE OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL FORCES

The preceding discussion has attempted to portray the causal relationships between the ecological environment of the Azores on the one hand, and the predominant values, beliefs, and behavior patterns of the islanders on the other. In short, it has sought to identify a fundamental link between environment and culture. Throughout history, even as far back as Aristotle, ecology has often been regarded as a strong determinant of culture. However, excessive oversimplification in this matter must be avoided. As David Kaplan and Robert Manners have pointed out,

> all contemporary cultural ecologists would reject any such mechanical use of environmental factors to account for variations in cultural arrangements . . .
>
> Reacting against this simplistic environment determinism, many cultural ecologists came to espouse a position which has been called environmental possibilism. In this view, the features of the natural habitat are seen as playing, not a determinative role, but a permissive or limiting

> role, offering opportunities in certain directions and inhibiting them in others. (85)

In their attempts to «explain» the Azorean culture, many of the writers quoted here have assigned such a preponderant role to ecological causes alone that they are indeed party to an over-simple deterministic view of island life. Such explanations lose sight of the fact that a culture is also shaped by the interactions of people themselves. In this realm, social, political, and economic forces all play major roles.

Ribeiro touches slightly on socio-political factors, yet even in so doing he falls back on an ultimately ecological point of view:

> With their energies dissipated, with no recourse to reaction, with no means of fighting face to face with the rich and privileged classes, the lower classes instinctively and in self-defense sublimate their impotence into cunningness, looking for a way of getting by those difficulties they could not overcome. Tenacious, rarely abandoning an idea or a project, but submissive by necessity and therefore fearful and apathetic in their long-range endeavors, they became withdrawn and cunning.
>
> In these islands where the bulk of the land remains in the hands of a few individuals, certain vital moral transformation have yet to take place. (86)

Furtado attempts to pinpoint one of the non-ecological causes:

> As powerful groups on the continent increasingly dominated and controlled key regions throughout both the Old and New Worlds, the miniscule fragment that was the Azores lay profoundly isolated, buried in the torpor of her climate trapped beneath the terror of the volcanoes and of the control and justice of the powerful *capitães donatários*. (87)

The Bullar brothers hit more sharply on the social issue:

> The manners of the highest and of the lowest classes are

> equally good; easy self-possession is as common to the poorest as to the best born; owing no doubt to their having lived for so many ages under a strict aristocracy of birth where the position of all is defined by such impassable boundaries, that there is neither on the one side the endeavor to rise, nor on the other the determination to prevent it. (88)

As has been accurately observed, insularity is in fact used as an excuse (*«a insularidade é um pretexto»*). (89) If not entirely an excuse, the islands' isolation has at least been carefully rationalized and integrated into a well-structured ideological justification of the socio-economic and political *status quo*.

While reading literature on «the social question» in the Azores, it must be kept in mind that the Portuguese political dictatorship maintained rigid censorship from 1926 until 1974. Whenever the socio-political establishment has been criticized, any hidden insinuations by the author can be perceived only by reading between the lines. By way of example, consider the following paragraphs by Cunha de Oliveira:

> Nature has given us our fatalism. She shakes and roasts us. She scours our sweat and blood with the raging of the winds, the recklessness of the rains and the voraciousness of the sea. It is because of her that even the most rational among us say: «What has to be must be.»
>
> But in compensation we have this blue and green all our own. And with this, we have the immediate and never-ending presence of the sea. By their sheer predominance, these have forged within us the peculiar Azorean calmness and sweetness which most do not comprehend and others abuse.
>
> And why do they abuse it? Because very often the sky is tinged with gray, the sea becomes ashen and pale, and the fields are darkened with the same gray color. And then our expression of calmness losing its pleasantness, takes on a painful tone, like someone who was born for oppression, someone who is in no hurry to throw off his

> yoke. And all because he could never uncloud the sky. But this makes us no less men, nor no less sensitive. Quite the contrary. What we become is patient. Perfect stuff for tyrants. (90)

A recent brief but interesting political document (91) has attempted to explain the islands' present stage of development. Under the sub-heading «Keys to an Understanding of Azorean Backwardness», the document points to the policies of the Lisbon government and the behavior of the local dominant classes in the Azores, stressing the two *leitmotivs* of stultification and abandonment. The document holds that the political powers in Lisbon directly promoted and sustained the archipelago's socio-economic isolation and lack of growth, and that those powers acted largely through the remnants of the old Azorean aristocracy and their associates.

The document pinpoints the following three reasons for the region's underdevelopment: 1) the development policies of the *Estado Novo* (the Salazar-Caetano regime); 2) the local (Azorean) land-holding system; and 3) the local socio-cultural microsystem. Each of these merits some consideration.

The core policy of the Salazar-Caetano dictatorship was one of strict centralization in all things. This directive dominated all subsidiary policies, and sharply curtailed any possibility of regional development. It must be understood, however, that in failing to develop the periphery of the empire, of which the Azores were part, the *Estado Novo* merely followed an old Portuguese tradition. (92) The lack of development of the islands, and in fact of almost the entire Portuguese empire outside of the capital city, had been perpetuated for centuries. The old Portuguese saying, «Portugal is Lisbon and the rest is scenery» has some truth.

In order to meaningfully understand the longstanding underdevelopment of most of the empire, it is necessary to review much of Portuguese history. Careful analysis of the works of several key historians and social commentators, among them Antero de Quental, (93) Alexandre Herculano, (94) Oliveira Martins, (95) and António Sergio, (96) is indispensable to comprehending the complex roots of that underdevelopment. This task is beyond the scope and intent of the present discussion. It is enough here merely to stress that the destiny of the Azores differed little from a distant province such as Trás-os-Montes or from any of the overseas colonies prior to the anticolonial rebellions. It is true that Lisbon began to develop certain colonies in the nineteen-

sixties. However, that move came only in response to the growth of local liberation movements and their guerilla warfare against Portuguese domination. This phenomenon did not affect the Azores for two reasons: first, there was no liberation front on the islands; and second, the local rulers in the Azores formed a tight alliance with Lisbon which protected the interests of both groups and forcefully sustained the socio-economic *status quo*.

In considering the influence of local landholding structures upon development, the document stresses the archipelago's heavily agrarian economy. It notes that there is a difference between São Miguel and the other islands: whereas agriculture on S. Miguel is highly commercialized and market-oriented, a more traditional, subsistence-oriented agricultural economy predominates on the others. Furthermore, the distribution of property on the smaller islands is substantially more egalitarian than on S. Miguel. Our attention is drawn to the latter:

> On this island, where so much tremendous work is performed and where the intensity of the culture surpasses all other regions of Portugal, a landowning bourgeoisie lives at the throat of the land and its people. Roughly forty landowners control over 25% of the land in São Miguel! The large landowners rarely cultivate their own fields, but instead live by renting out their properties. They rent out tiny, often miniscule patches, as small as one-seventh of a hectar. Rents are uniformly and excruciatingly high.
>
> The poverty of São Miguel's tenant farmers, who are more accurately termed semi-proletarians, stands in agonizing contrast to the prosperity of Ponta Delgada. It conflicts sharply with the lack of want of the urban classes, the landed gentry, and the smaller middle classes. Clearly, the source of this city's prosperity is not urban, given that there is very limited industry. That prosperity is created by agriculture (and admittedly in part by the return of some money to the island from emigrants).
>
> Because they live very profitably on rental income, the large landowners have no interest in increasing the productivity of their land. They therefore fail to reinvest any significant unused surplus in either industry or agriculture.

> They fail to do so despite the fact that such reinvestment might well bring about a general increase in overall productivity through the improvement of the means of production. (97)

The central features common to both São Miguel and the remaining islands must be recognized, however. Both lacked any balanced exchange of goods or capital with the outside world, and instead both suffered similarly from a draining of resources.

The document points to the islands' socio-cultural microsystem as the third reason for their underdevelopment. That system has both contributed to and been shaped by the various forces and situations discussed above. It is undeniable that a number of ecological and social forces have acted to preserve the *status quo*. Yet here the role played by dominant groups within the socio-economic and political system must be properly emphasized. Intentional or not and whether surreptitiously hidden or naively open, the efforts of those dominant groups strongly reinforced existing socio-economic structures and conditions. These people set the pace of the islands' development and had the last and often the only word on their social, economic and political destiny. They were a highly cooperative few, who had little difficulty keeping things under control. Circumstances were so favorable for these dominant groups that their own interests soon became internalized as values by the majority of the population. A very conservative church and an extremely poor educational system figured strongly in this process.

In speaking of the religious spirit of the islanders, Raúl Brandão wrote that:

> The Catholic rules and laws are what create this uniformity and monotony of peoples' souls. Subordinate oneself, obey, do not question . . . In spite of the beauty of self-sacrifice, something is not right here. (98)

In the internalization of the dominant ideology, then, what is good for the rulers is perceived by the mass of the people either as natural law or as moral value established by religious doctrine. It should be noted that this process is particularly acute and well-established in São Miguel. (99)

Arruda Furtado has referred to the tradition of «monumental ignorance in all social classes». (100) This may have played a role in the islands' under-

development during the 1800's, but this was no longer the case by the turn of the century. By that point the ascending elite had in fact become quite well-educated. The education of the elite, however, had almost no effect on the already crystallized social structures which left most countryside towns in the dominant hands of plenipotentiary priests and all-knowing teachers. Rather, the dominant classes' acquisition of education merely refined the existing social system, sharpening the hiatus between rulers and ruled. The *Estado Novo* did all it could to help preserve the *status quo*, receiving full cooperation from the local establishment in that effort. Towards this end, education for the majority of the population was strongly deemphasized. Until the late sixties, the Azores had only four years of compulsory education. Given that mass of the people were never taught the value of education, and were in fact discouraged from seeking it, one can better understand why schooling is not a high priority among many Azoreans today. (101)

Furtado was aware of the tremendous deleterious impact that such limited education and social stagnation has on the mental capabilities of a population. He described the particular effects of vocabulary impoverishment upon Azoreans:

> To all this add the total loss of important notions of both natural and social realities. The poverty of island fauna and flora, has been thoroughly reflected in the island vocabulary. Peoples' extreme lack of contact with certain plants and animals inevitably led them to forget those objects, and with them all corresponding ideas . . .(102)

Limited experience with the world breeds limited knowledge. For men whose knowledge of certain states of affairs has been thus stunted, it follows that they will have no need to name or label those states of affairs. Not being named or labeled in turn soon leads to not being thought of, and is the initial step towards being wiped out of the mind. (103)

Through such minimally reinforcing relationships, the world of the individual becomes increasingly confined to the small world in which he lives, and increasingly he lets himself be shaped by that world. Peoples' minds are eventually reduced *en masse* to the small scale of their immediate environment. As they come to identify their lives with that one small world they begin to take it as the one and only.

Fortunately this circle is broken here and there both by outside forces, coupled with a very deep human longing for something else. The *saudades da terra* never cease to act upon the islanders, and whenever life in the islands has become close to impossible, people leave. Overpopulation, acute economic crises, and periodic lack of outside involvement in the archipelago, (104) have all provoked emigration. The largest migratory waves have been to Brazil in the 18th and 19th centuries, to the United States towards the latter part of the 19th century, and today increasingly to the U. S. and Canada; in truth, virtually to every single place on the surface of the earth. (105)

A poem by Borges Martins says it all:

> In the archipelago the ships have
> no urgency, people wait . . .
> the island is a docked packboat, the dock
> is the only hope of men with no goodbye. (106)

Or perhaps these lines by Santos Barros:

> It is from here
> that men become men in motion,
> to remain is to embrace
> neither life
> nor death. (107)

CONCLUSION

The foregoing perspective on the Azorean is, needless to say, one perspective. If objectivity is unattainable even at the microscopic level within a single social science, then clearly a broad interdisciplinary analysis such as this one, (an analysis which is intentionally holistic and which employs both diachronic and synchronic approaches almost simultaneously), will inevitably be highly subjective. Given the subjectivity inherent in this approach, I have purposely avoided hiding behind any so-called and illusive «demands of methodological rigour». (108) My point of view has been left clear, and the values underlying my analysis made quite visible. In this I chose to follow Gunnar Myrdal's advice, (109) for an object is always perceived by a subject from *some* point of view. There is no point in concealing or obscuring which side one is on.

Given that data collection itself constitutes a selection process, then clearly the evaluation of that data will necessarily involve premises built on personal beliefs, values, and preconceived assumptions of the evaluator. I note this to point out that the reader of this paper will arrive at his or her own conclusions, and that those conclusions will vary between readers, even where none of those readers have access to any additional information about Azoreans other than that presented here. For instance, a folklorist committed to the preservation of old customs merely for the sake of preservation will lament the rapid Americanization of Azorean immigrants, and may even lament any changes that occur within the islands. Someone else might applaud the arrival of television to the islands as a means of breaking the thick isolation between the archipelago and the outside world. A more traditional moralist might be infuriated by the same event because it will jeopardize the survival of ancient mores. As a final example of possible contradictory value preferences, consider people in an American factory which employs a good number of Azoreans. Management may praise the hard-working virtues and good-natured obedience of those immigrants who oppose strikes and rarely complain about working conditions. American workers raised within a tradition of unions and of rights-consciousness, however, may become enraged with the subservient attitude of Azoreans who want not to offend their bosses and who argue that they should be thankful to the owners for ever having received a job.

The preceding examples illustrate but a few conceivable scenarios wherein the Azorean people may be judged as «beautiful» by some, and as quite the opposite by others. This paper does not intend to prevent this sort of inevitable interpretive variation. Such differences in perceived worth are an unavoidable part of the value conflicts we all face daily. Rather, this paper has attempted merely to address two broad questions. The first of these comes from people who do not know the Azoreans well, and that is: «What are the Azoreans like?» The second comes from those who know the islanders, but who may be perplexed and have either mixed or non-sympathetic feelings towards them: «Why are Azoreans like that?»

These questions, raised by Americans about the immigrants in their midst, are often raised from an idiosyncratic and rather ethnocentric point of view. This is true, for instance, of such questions as: «Why do the Azoreans drop out of school?», «Why don't they value efficiency?», or «Why aren't they more active in local politics?» Inquiries such as these are all equally common, and it was with precisely this type of question in mind that the preceding pages were written.

To combat any Manichaean tendencies on the part of the reader, he/she is reminded that the Azorean people are as «good» *and/or* as «bad» as any other human group. Like any other people, the Azoreans have been strongly affected by the ecological and social infra- and supra-structures which pervaded their lives throughout centuries. Whether we like it or not, cultures do not change instantaneously. The effects of profound and prolonged influences upon a culture remain in force, to varying degrees, for long periods. But then as ecological and/or socio-political conditions change, cultures are also bound to change, however slowly. This is the inevitable outcome of any historical processes: so cultures continue as they are, change, or die.

PERSONAL NOTE

I wish to make one final statement to my fellow Azoreans. This essay was not written for a touristic brochure, and thus I did not refer to «the beauty of the islands and the polichromy of the landscapes», nor did I insist much on the hospitality of the people. This analysis was not a hymn to the land nor a eulogy to the populace. The *açorianidade* (Azoreaneity) which I share and which will always be an integral part of my world should not prevent me, or any compatriot, from taking a close look at our roots in order to understand them. If understanding is to be meaningful, we cannot avoid being critical in the genuine sense of the word. Following Socrates' advice, «know thyself», is both helpful and difficult. But pursuit of that goal reveals ourselves to us as we are, rather than in illusions of what we would like others to think we are. That is at least a worthwhile beginning.

Notes

I would like to thank Paul Jones for his tremendous assistance in the painful tasks of editing the English and translating the many long quotations. Those were especially difficult when they happened to be poems.

(1) Due to the nature of this essay, geographical and historical information on the Azores has been kept to a minimum. Here are a few pertinent facts: The archipelago consists of nine islands divided into three separate groups: the Central group (Terceira, Graciosa, São Jorge, Pico and Faial), the Western group (Flores and Corvo), and a third group (Eastern) consisting of São Miguel and Santa Maria. The islands have a combined surface area of about 2,330 square kilometers, or 900 square miles. São Miguel is the largest island, accounting for almost one-third of the total land area.

The Azores lie about one-third of the distance from Lisbon to Boston. Reaching them by air takes two hours from Lisbon, and four and one-half hours from Boston.

The islands had no human inhabitants at the time of their discovery, which probably occurred in 1427. Soon thereafter (1439) they began to be populated, primarily by mainland Portuguese.

In 1960 the population of the archipelago was 320,000, with roughly 170,000 of these on São Miguel. Since that time a steady wave of emigration has greatly reduced those numbers, bringing the total to 290,000 in 1970 and to 260,000 in 1975. By that point emigration had returned the population size back to exactly what it had been one century earlier, in 1875.

(2) Vitorino Nemésio, *O Açoriano e os Açores* (Lisboa: Edição da Renascença Portuguesa, 1929).

(3) Arruda Furtado, *Materiais para o Estudo Anthropológico dos Povos Açorianos. Observações sobre o Povo Micaelense.* (Ponta Delgada, Açores: Tipografia Popular, 1884).

(4) Luís Ribeiro, *Subsídios para um Ensaio sobre a Açorianidade.* Informação preambular, Notas e Bibliografia por João Afonso. (Angra do Heroísmo, Açores: Instituto Açoriano de Cultura, 1964).

(5) In the social sciences there is a view, begun by Dilthey and later developed by Max Weber and Karl Mannheim, which assumes that there is a fundamental difference between the natural and the social sciences, and further, that the latter requires a specific method. While the natural sciences are exclusively concerned with measur-

able external phenomena, the social sciences should be concerned with the motives and values of men and with the meaning of their acts. *Explanation* of the facts is sufficient for the natural sciences, but it is not adequate for the social sciences; that process alone would miss the inner dimensions of human acts. Rather, this view holds that more than the mere explanation is necessary to meaningfully study a given social situation or culture. What is required is an *understanding* (the German expression *Verstehen* is often used). An adequat understanding (in this sense) of human acts requires some exploration of the purpose, motives, and values of the actors involved. In order to achieve this, a «sympathetic intuition» is definitely required.

(6) Raúl Brandão, *As Ilhas Desconhecidas. Notas e Paisagens.* 3ª edição (Lisboa: Livraria Francisco Alves, 1926).

(7) Joseph and Henry Bullar, *A Winter in the Azores, a Summer at the Baths of the Furnas,* 2 vols. (London: John Van Voorst, Paternoster Row, 1841).

It should be noted that except for Luís Ribeiro's work, the sources mentioned above were written during the last century and the first three decades of this century. Without doubt, many things have changed since that time. The core of these observations, however, remain both accurate and valid. This in turn speaks for their value.

(8) Without wishing to enter into the intricacies of current philosophical discussions concerning distinctions between the two concepts, the following analyses of G. H. von Wright may help in clarifying the approach used in the present text:

> «Before explanation can begin, its object – the *explanadum* (whatever is to be explained) – must be described. Any description may be said to tell us what something «is» . . . But understanding what something is in the sense of *is like* should not be confused with understanding what something is in the sense of *means* or *signifies*. The first is a characteristic preliminary of causal, the second of teleological explanation. It is therefore misleading to say that understanding *versus* explanation marks the difference between two types of understanding and of explanation.»

Explanation and Understanding. (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1971).

(9) Furtado writes:

> « . . . os micaelenses estão ainda longe de constituirem um grupo verdadeiramente homogéneo, tão mista foi a composição originária do povo português.»
> O. c., p. 55.

This designation refers to the islands of the Central and Western groups. It therefore includes all of the islands except for São Miguel and Santa Maria.

(11) O. c., p. 12.

(12) O. c., p. 17.

(13) O. c., pp. 11-12.

(14) O. c., pp. 13-14.

(15) Id., p. 25.

(16) Id., pp. 26-27.

(17) Ibidem.

(18) *Cantar ao desafio* translates as «Challenge through singing». This is a very popular tradition wherein two people, accompanied by the traditional small guitar, improvise *quadras* (quatrains) in turn. They can elaborate on a serious subject or they may argue and/or joke about one another.

(19) O. c., p. 28.

(20) Ibid., p. 29. This sensibility and good taste in their relationship with nature was stressed by the Bullars. The brothers were particularly touched by a woman who brought them a basket decorated with flowers. As an additional example they mention a woman who folded her clothes with aromatic flowers in between the layers of cloth.

(21) O. c., Vol. II. pp. 212-214. The Bullars saw a sort of epitomization of Cervantes' Sancho in the *Micaelense* peasant. This observation deserves to be quoted in its entirety:

> The people here are very familiar but it is in a graceful, inoffensive way. Just in the same manner as Sancho converses with Don

> Quixote, do the servants and the ass-drivers talk with their masters, and the poor to their superiors in rank. Sancho's observations on his master, and his freedom of manner, would have been unnatural in the mouth of an English groom; but the servants of one of the squires of St. Michael's will laugh and joke with his master, with as much familiarity and real civility as Sancho, when he strung proverbs at Don Quixote's expense. There is a good deal of resemblance, too, between the character of Sancho, taking him as a type of his class, and that of the Azorean poor with whom we have come in contact. They are extremely curious, have great cunning and finesse, lie with as much coolness as Sancho, when he explained to the Don, in the sable mountain, his interview with the Lady Dulcinea, are clever at repartee, and fond of proverbs and short sayings. (Vol. I, pp. 74-75).

(22) See Carreiro da Costa, *Esboço Histórico dos Açores*. (Ponta Delgada: Instituto Universitário dos Açores, 1978), pp. 287-288.

(23) O. c., p. 20-21.

(24) Id., p. 43.

(25) Id., p. 49. At the time Furtado wrote his book, women did far more work in the fields than they do today. Furtado believed that this practice might have been responsible for what he called the increased «virility of their physical features».

(26) The Castillians invaded and occupied Terceira for almost sixty years, between 1583 and 1640.

(27) O. c., pp. 13-15.

(28) Pe. Jerónimo Emiliano de Andrade, *Notícia do Arquipélago dos Açores*, p. 119. Quoted in Ribeiro, O. c., p. 32.

(29) See Ribeiro, Ibidem. The idiosyncrasy of the *Picaroto* is masterfully shown in the short stories of Nunes da Rosa, *Gente das Ilhas*, 2nd. edition (Angra do Heroísmo: Instituto Açoriano de Cultura, 1978), and the three novels by Dias de Melo, which constitute the so-called *Ciclo da baleia* (whale cycle): *Mar Rubro* (Lisboa: Orion, 1958); *Pedras Negras* (Lisboa: Portugália, 1965); and *Mar Pela Proa* (Lisbon: Prelo, 1976).

(30) In spite of this, one of the Bullars made a pertinent observation that applies to the Azorean in general, as follows:

> In judging them by their amusements, I apprehend they should be described rather as gay than as cheerful people. The dances and the crowded balls which are constantly recurring; the religious processions in the streets, and the exciting church services which the policy of the Church of Rome has accommodated to their tastes, indicate a necessity for stimulus which a cheerful people seldom need; but which is necessary to produce gaiety.

O. c., Vol. II, p. 215.

(31) O. c., p. 17.

(32) Another reason for the special consideration given here to the *Micaelense* is that he makes up two-thirds of the Azorean population. *Micaelenses* also comprise the vast majority of Azorean immigrants to the U. S.

(33) O. c., pp. 15-16.

(34) The popular songs and feasts are revealing on this point. Both are sad and solemn. The rhythm of most songs is very slow, and most are in minor keys. The Gregorian chants sung in church convey a strong sense of sadness, resignation, fatality and even tragedy which can be most disturbing to an outsider. One of the most common of these chants is *Tantum Ergo*.

(35) The *Micaelense* hard-work ethic must be distinguished from the Protestant work ethic. For the *Micaelense*, it involves a kind of forced working simply because those who are born poor have no alternative.

(36) See, for instance, J. G. Peristiany, *Honor and Shame: The Values of Mediterranean Society*. (London, 1965).

(37) On conservative thought, see Karl Mannheim, *From Karly Mannheim*, Edited and with an introduction by Kurt H. Wolff (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971).

(38) On the peasant cognitive system, see George Gurvitch, *The Social Frameworks of Knowledge*. (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1971).

(39) As described in contraposition to the Protestant by Max Weber in *The Protestant*

Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958).

(40) Leite de Vasconcelos wrote: «No que todos os observadores concordam é nisto: que o povo é muito religioso, bastante supersticioso, morigerado e mantenedor de costumes patriarcais», *Mês de Sonho. Conspecto de Etnografia Açórica*. (Lisboa, 1926).

In a paper read at Week II of the Azorean Studies Conference, José Agostinho listed what he called the «favorable» dominant traits of the Azorean character. By «favorable» he meant «good and worth preserving». They are as follows:

> The islanders' adherence to their religious beliefs; a profound abhorrence of all that comes from outside; a very strong family institution; widespread feelings of being good neighbors; the privileged nature of the woman's position in society; a generally peaceful and orderly spirit; submission and even subjugation to the law; respect for authority; love of one's own island and also of her people («the islander is a good friend, but a bad enemy»).

Among the so-called «unfavorable» dominant characteristics, he lists:

> A certain general laziness; the disadvantaged social position of children; a very high infant mortality rate; the excessive amount of work given to children; the fact that too much time at work is demanded of the laborer; insufficient wages; a common lack of forethought or foresight; generalized lack of assistance between individuals; and finally, profound neighborhood pride and rivalry often fed largely by blind passion.»

(J. Agostinho's analysis refers to Azoreans up to the year 1910, although he would maintain that any differences today would be only in degree and not in substance.) From «Dominantes Histórico-Sociais do Povo Açoriano», in *Livro da II Semana de Estudos dos Açores* (Angra do Heroísmo: Instituto Açoriano de Cultura/Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1963), pp. 162-3.

(41) After this paper was written, an analysis of the influence of religion on island life appeared in Caetano Valadão Serpa, *A Gente dos Açores. Identificação, Emigração e Religiosidade. Séculos XVI-XX*. (Lisboa: Prelo, 1978).

(42) «A Integração do Açoriano no Mundo Actual», in *Livro da III Semana de Estudos dos Açores*. (Horta: Instituto Açoriano de Cultura/Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1964) p. 332.

(43) Examples of these paired rivalries are: Santa Maria-S. Miguel, Terceira-S. Miguel (the most intensive of all), Graciosa-Terceira, S. Jorge-Terceira, Graciosa-S. Jorge, S. Jorge-Pico, Pico-Faial, Corvo-Flores.

(44) José Enes e Onésimo T. Almeida, *Estruturas Mentais do Povo Açoriano* (Unpublished Manuscript: Lisbon, 1971), pp. 18-19.

(45) O. c., p. 59-60.

(46) Fernando Pessoa, the best known modern Portuguese poet, criticized the *provincianismo* of his fellow citizens. By *provincianismo*, he meant more than the term usually denotes. He explains in the following way:

> «O provincianismo consiste em pertencer a uma civilização sem tomar parte no desenvolvimento superior dela, em segui-la pois mimeticamente, com uma subordinação inconsciente e feliz. O sindroma provincianó compreende, pelo menos, três sintomas flagrantes: O entusiasmo e admiração pelas grandes cidades; o entusiasmo e admiração pelo progresso e pela modernidade; e, na esfera mental, a incapacidade de ironia».

«O Provincianismo Português», in *Páginas de Doutrina Estética*, Selecção, Prefácio e Notas de Jorge de Sena, 2nd. ed. (Lisboa: Inquérito).

(47) Fernando Pessoa again:

> «*A ternura lusitana* ou a Alma da Raça. O costume de definir o português como essencialmente lírico, ou essencialmente amoroso /é/ absurdo, porque não há povo quase nenhum que não seja estas duas coisas. Ao mesmo tempo vê-se que, ainda que essa expressão falhe, há qualquer coisa de verdade, que não chega a descobrir-se nestas frases.
>
> O que há de quase indefinivelmente português de portuguesmente comum, excepto a língua, a Bernardim Ribeiro, Camões, Garrett, Antero de Quental, António Nobre, Junqueiro, Correia de Oliveira, Pascoais, Mário Beirão?
>
> Em primeiro lugar é uma *ternura*. Mas o que é essa ternura? Ternura vaga (. . .) em Bernadino Ribeiro, ternura que rompe a casa de estrangeirismo de Camões, no seu auge ternura heróica, ternura metafísica em Antero . . . ternura por si próprio e pela sua terra – esquiva (. . .) espontânea e com o lado «tristeza»

acentuado em António Nobre, ternura pela paisagem em Fialho, ternura que chega a assomar as janelas da alma de Eça de Queiroz.

Chamar ao sol «solzinho de Deus» é um fenómeno especial de ternura. Nessas frases do povo está o germe de todo o pátrio.

Páginas de Estética e Teoria e Crítica Literárias, Textos estabelecidos e prefaciados por George R. Lind e Jacinto do Prado Coelho (Lisboa: Ática 1973), pp. 329-330.

(48) Even today, not much is known about the early settlements in the Azores. In the most recent historical account of the islands, Carreiro da Costa writes:

> «In the end, the fact is that the question of the settlement of the Azores is yet to be sufficiently understood . . .»

Esboço Histórico dos Açores, O. c., p. 58.

There is no doubt, however, that «the great majority of settlers consisted of mainland Portuguese, and further that almost every province of Portugal was represented.» Luís Ribeiro, «Formação Histórica do Povo dos Açores, *Açoriana*, Vol. II, (1941), p. 195.

Non-Portuguese played a relatively minor role, though they did contribute. First among these were the Flemish. Later on, and in much smaller numbers, came small groups of settlers from other Central and Southern European nations. Several references maintain that some Moors and black slaves were brought to the islands by the Portuguese colonizers. See Carreiro da Costa, O. c., p. 60.

(49) In the original:

> Sempre o mesmo horizonte
> — mar, névoa, a ilha em frente
> Dizem os garajaus ao voltar
> Que não mais será diferente.

Almeida Firmino, *Em Memória de Mim* (Angra do Heroísmo, Açores: Author's Edition, 1971), p. 27.

(50) In the original:

> Este céu baço, esta humidade, o ritmo
> monótono do mar, a solidão
> que faz moer a dor . . .

Este sol entre as nuvens, a neblina
que me enerva e penetra os meus ossos,
tudo isto é ilha, Amor.

Entre o Sonho e a Realidade (Angra do Heroísmo: Cadernos do Pensamento, 1957), p. 39.

(51) Translated by George Monteiro. In the original:

Ilha
Só isto:
O céu fechado, uma ganhoa
pairando. Mar. E um barco na distância:
olhos de fome a adivinhar-lhe a proa,
Califórnias perdidas de abundância.

A Ilha e o Mundo, (Lisboa: Centro Bibliográfico, 1953), p. 17.

(52) O. c., pp. 44-45.

(53) Ibid., p. 59.

(54) O. c., p. 21.

(55) Ibid., pp. 22-23.

(56) Ibid., p. 28.

(57) Ibid., p. 32.

(58) Ibid., pp. 70-72.

(59) Ibid., pp. 99-100.

(60) Ibid., p. 108.

(61) Ibid., p. 128.

(62) Ibid., p. 210.

(63) Joseph and Henry Bullar, O. c., Vol. I, pp. 131-133.

(64) O. c., p. 26.

(65) Ibidem.

(66) Santos Barros opens his book with two quotations about humidity. The first is from Virginia Woolf. The other is by the Azorean poet Roberto de Mesquita:

> «Que mágoa anónima satura / este ar de inverno, este ar doente?
> (What anonymous grief saturates / this winter air, this air of illness?) *A Humidade* (Lisboa: Cooperativa Semente, 1979), p. 5.

(67) Ibid., p. 23.

(68) *Almas cativas e Poemas Dispersos*, Edited by Pedro da Silveira, (Lisboa: Edições Ática, 1973). p. 70.

(69) O. c., p. 354. To this Ribeiro adds:

> «According to the testimony of Carolina Michaelis de Vasconcelos, that atmosphere saddened and drowsed the soul of Antero de Quental» (p. 34).

Antero de Quental was a social thinker and poet who was intensely concerned with socio-political problems in Portugal, but who was also deeply committed to and enveloped by metaphysical and spiritual questions. He committed suicide while in São Miguel, during one of his depressed periods.

Quental's depressions have been associated with the ecological environment by Rebelo de Bettencourt, another Azorean poet. Although this association involves some degree of poetic freedom, it is insightful. The poem is partially quoted here:

Sob a chuva do tédio

Dia aziago. Chove . . . O céu é de ameaça.
Uma bruma cinzenta estrangula a paisagem
Oiço na voz da chuva uma estranha linguagem
E adivinho não sei que sombra de desgraça!

. . . . . .

A tristeza é irmã desta chuva a tombar . . .

— Foi numa tarde assim que Antero de Quental
Desiludido e só, se resolveu matar.

Um tédio enorme deixa a paisagem doente:
— É o mesmo, talvez, que anda, por nosso mal,
Nos *Sonetos* de Antero e na alma da gente!

(*Vozes do Mar e do Vento. Antologia Poética*. Lisboa, 1953, pp. 37-8.)

(70) O. c., pp. 90-91.

(71) Ibidem, p. 80.

(72) *Sinais do Oeste*, (Coimbra: Textos Vértice, 1962), p. 25.

(73) Raúl Brandão was deeply impressed by the effects that isolation had on a shepherd on São Jorge:

> «Reparo com pasmo que este pastor me fala da vida com indiferença plantado diante de mim como um tronco. É um bruto, mas foram os outros que o reduziram à condição de bruto. As coisas mais duras di-las com a mesma cara de estanho. O isolamento comunicou-lhe a mudez. (O. c., p. 184) Nunca vi diante de mim figura tão inexpressiva. Não foi o isolamento que o criou. Mais que o abandono, criou-o o desprezo pela criatura humana . . . Ninguém se aproxima deste escravo na solidão do mar e da pastagem . . . Lá fica no abandono do bicho . . . imóvel como se fosse de pedra — onde a dor não entra e, se entra, em pedra se converte. (p. 186)

A similar metaphor was used by Brandão to describe an old man he saw sitting at the plaza of Corvo: «Os homens são estátuas por concluir» (p. 42) («men are unfinished statues»).

Carlos Faria, a mainland Portuguese poet, who often travels through the islands, has a kind of fascination with São Jorge as the epitome of an island. He frequently tells the story of someone running in São Jorge and being told by an islander, in a low and dull voice: «Eih, where are you going in such haste? The island ends there already!»

This in fact seems more likely to be the invention of a poet, the product of an attempt to capture the feeling of «islandness» as perceived through mainland eyes. True islanders who have never left the Azores are not conscious of the small-

ness of their world. That smallness may be reflected in their views, but they are not aware of it. Dimensions are relative, and to them their own world is in fact «large». The following true story does not pretend to be the norm, but it does illustrate this point. During the summer of 1976 my wife and I visited Fajã do Ouvidor, a small seaside town on the northern coast of San Jorge. A young girl, probably eight or nine years of age, struck up a conversation with Mary:

> «Where are you from?» the girl asked.
> Mary avoided an exact answer , convinced that the girl would not know about her country. «I am from a land very far away from here.»
> «But which one is it?» the girl insisted.
> «I'm from Greece», replied Mary. «It is very far.»
> The little girl continued, «Is it farther than Calheta?»
> Calheta is a town right across the island, on the opposite shore, some ten kilometers away.

(74) Quoted in Ruy Galvão de Carvalho, «Possibilidades duma Literatura de Significação Açoriana», *Insulana* XII (1956), 218-219. Vol. XII (1956) no. 2, p. 218-219. There has been some dispute on this alleged influence of the sea. In a commentary on Ribeiro's study, João Afonso refers to Nemésio's insistence on the influence of the sea («Sou quase do próprio mar») and also to Ribeiro's

> «O Açoriano tem sempre diante dos olhos o mar e o horizonte marítimo sem fim, a contrastar com o acanhado horizonte terrestre. De toda a parte, pois raros são os lugares de onde ele se não avista, ora o vê sereno e calmo como um lago, ora agitado pelos fortes vendavais do pleno Atlântico Norte parecendo querer engulir a terra»

O. c., p. 54.

Afonso writes:

> «sem dúvida a presença constante do mar, desde o nascimento até à morte, na vida do açoriano em sua ilha . . . levou o Dr. Luís Ribeiro a inteligenciar até que ponto o mar constitui um dos factores primaciais na determinação da-açorianidade.
>
> Efectivamente, o mar é uma constante nos Açores . . . Mas o estudo da influência do mar nos povos . . . parece continuar a propôr-se como assunto árduo . . .
>
> É sintomática a verificação de L. Ribeiro quanto ao contraste entre os poetas açorianos cultos — seu número e qualidade —

> que, de qualquer forma, e mais ou menos acentuadamente, se encontram com o mar (o mar-tema, o mar-paisagem, em todo o caso) e os poetas que não inteligenciam o mar (p. 117).

He then refers to Emanual Félix's study *O meio escolar açoriano – Aspecto Geo-psíquico*, wherein the sea is considered solely as an element in the landscape.

In this search for influence, it is necessary to distinguish between being aware of *x*'s influence (*x* in fact being an influence), and not being aware of *x*'s influence (while *x* is still of equal influence). Specifically, Ribeiro's observation that the sea is present only in the more sophisticated literature and is almost absent in most folk literary expression implies that many Azoreans are not highly aware of the ocean's presence.

Regarding this notion, it should be noted that much of Azorean folk literature originated in the mainland, possibly in the interior where the sea has no influence, and also that it has mainly been transmitted orally. The folk literature that actually originated in the islands speaks little of the sea, because the sea is an intrinsic part of life for only about 3% of the population. Beginning with the earliest settlements, the bulk of the Azorean people have been most closely tied to the interior of the islands. This may be partly because the colonizers came from the Portuguese interior, but probably more because they came to the islands with the specific purpose of cultivating land to supply ships en route from Africa. Because the history of the first island settlements was never recorded in any detail, these thoughts are inevitably speculative.

Nonetheless, the people may in fact not realize how much the sea affects them, while it still does have an influence. Similarly, the folk literature contains no reference to either the humidity of the «Azorean torpor», yet these do affect their lives. All of these environmental elements are a structural part of the native's world. They know no other which might provide some contrast.

Finally, it is at least certain that the sea does have the following impact on the lives of the islanders: it is the sea, by definition, that makes the islands «islands», and therein it isolates them greatly from each other and from the rest of the world. That feeling of isolation can be seen in the many aspects of Azorean life, including the predominant *saúdade*, the fatalism, the religion, and the major social structures, to name a few.

(75) Melville J. Herskovitz, *Cultural Dynamics*. Abridged from *Cultural Anthropology* (New York: Alfred Knopf, Inc., 1964) p. 149.

(76) Among the island's first recorded vulcanic disasters was the Sete Cidades eruption of 1433, which occurred shortly after the first settlers had come to the islands. It was accompanied by one solid year of consecutive earthquakes. No one had any

possibility of escape.

In 1552 Vila Franca do Campo, the capital of São Miguel, was destroyed by quakes. The second half of the century witnessed six additional major cataclysms. In 1614 the town of Praia da Vitória, on Terceira, was shaken to ruins, and at least twelve major tragedies hit the islands during the 17th and 18th centuries combined. Having only recently struggled to its feet, Praia da Vitória was again destroyed in 1841. In 1926 the city of Horta was demolished, one of several traumas to strike during this century. In addition to standard quakes, submarine eruptions (Capelinhos) have also been prevalent throughout Azorean history. The last of these occurred in Faial in 1957-58.

(77) O. c., p. 25. Ribeiro quotes William Humbolt:

> «O que se apodera de nós é a perda da nossa confiança inata e na estabilidade do solo. Desde a nossa infância habituamo-nos ao contraste entre a mobilidade da água e a imobilidade da terra. Há um poder desconhecido até então que se revela de repente, a calma da natureza era apenas uma ilusão e sentimo-nos violentamente arremessados para o caos das forças destrutivas. Então cada ruído, cada sopro de vento, excita a nossa atenção; desconfiamos sobretudo do chão em que pomos os pés. (p. 25)

Ribeiro quotes also D'Avesac (without identifying his source):

> «Tout cela pénètre l'homme du sentiment de la faiblesse et oblige, en dépit de lui-même, à reconnaître et adorer le pouvoir mystérieux, incompréhensible, pour lequel ces prodiges ne sont qu'un jeu» (p. 24).

On the important role that emotions play in beliefs and attitudes, see Darly J. Bem, ***Beliefs, Attitudes, and Human Affairs*** (Belmont, California: Brooks/Cole Publishing Co., 1970).

(78) O. c., p. 130.

(79) The ***Romeiros*** (pilgrims) are groups of men who leave their town and walk around the island of S. Miguel for eight days during Lent. Throughout their journey they stop at every church that has been dedicated to the Virgin Mary. They travel with covered heads, singing the rosary as they go. Even today, a spirit of tragedy pervades the melody of their ***Ave Maria*** (Hail Mary).

(80) O. c., p. 26.

(81) The *festas do Espírito Santo* (Feasts of the Holy Ghost) are intimately connected to past volcanic catastrophes. These feasts have taken hold with almost equal force throughout all the islands, unlike most other religious traditions. Traditionally, during the time of an eruption, the crown of the Holy Ghost was brought to the site of the tragedy, and vows were made *in loco*.

(82) Pe. Júlio da Rosa, «A Consciência de Comunidade na Vida e História do Povo Açorianos», in *Livro da III Semana de Estudos dos Açores* (Horta: Instituto Açoriano de Cultura/Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1964), p. 54.

(83) O. c., p. 28.

(84) To clarify meanings, it is worth quoting this passage by Clifford Geertz:

> «A people's ethos is the tone, character, and quality of their life, its moral and esthetic and mood; it is the underlying attitude toward themselves and their world that life reflects. Their worldview is their picture of the way things in sheer actuality are, their concept of nature, of self, of society. It contains their most comprehensive ideas of order. Religious belief and ritual confront and mutually confirm one another. The ethos is made intellectually reasonable by being shown to represent a way of life implied by an actual state of affairs of which such a way of life is an authentic expression. This demonstration of a meaningful relation between the values a people holds and the general order of existence within which it finds itself is an essential element in all religions, however those values or that order be conceived. Whatever else religion may be, it is in part an attempt (of our implicit and directly felt rather than explicit and consciously thought-about sort) to conserve the fund of general meanings in terms of which each individual interprets his experience and organizes his conduct.» *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1973), p. 127.

(85) David Kaplan and Robert A. Manners, *Culture Theory*, (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1972), p. 77-78.

(86) O. c., p. 45.

(87) O. c., p. 24. *Capitães donatários* were those who, by decree of the king, had full power to control the islands assigned to them.

(88) O. c., vol. II, p. 216.

(89) *A Insularidade como desculpa* was the title of a booklet of cartoons published under the pseudonym of Van der Hagen during the dictatorship, and thus during a time of strict censorship. (Angra: Colecção Degrau, no. 6), 1973.

(90) A. da Cunha Oliveira, «As Dominantes Actuais do Meio Açoriano, *Livro da II Semana de Estudos* (Angra do Heroísmo: Instituto Açoriano de Cultura/Fundação C. Gulbenkian, 1963), p. 178.

(91) *Resposta Socialista ao Desafio Açoriano. Programa de Acção Económica para os Açores* (Lisboa: Edições Resposta Socialista, 1976).

(92) A. Furtado had already written in 1884:

> «Há apenas meio século que se estabeleceram as nossas relações directas e frequentes com os países mais civilizados da Europa; todos sabem o profundo desterro que temos sofrido na máxima parte da nossa vida.» O. c., p. 24.

(93) Among many of his works, see for instance: «Causas da Decadência dos Povos Peninsulares», written in 1871 and published together with other of his works in *Prosas*, vol. II (Coimbra, 1926, p. 92-140.

(94) See his *História de Portugal*. Many of his critical insights are collected in a series of volumes under the general title *Opúsculos* (Lisboa: Bertrand).

(95) See particularly his *História da Civilização Ibérica*, *História de Portugal* and *História de Portugal Contemporâneo* (2 vol.) (Lisboa: Gumarães e Co. ia Editores).

(96) See his *Ensaios* (Lisboa: Livraria Sá da Costa). The list of pertinent authors and works could continue almost indefinitely. A few more references, however, may be of interest. One of these is Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, *A Estrutura na Antiga Sociedade Portuguesa* (Lisboa: Arcádia, 1971). For a general and balanced account of the history of Portugal, see Antônio Sérgio, *Breve Interpretação da História de Portugal* (Lisboa: Livraria Sá da Costa, 1972) or Flausino Torres, *Portugal, Uma Perspectiva da sua História* (Porto: Afrontamento, 1974.) The best available work on the subject in English is A. H. de Oliveira Marques' two volume *His-*

tory of Portugal (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972). A much smaller work, but which offers a useful perspective, is: Charles E. Nowell, *Portugal* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1973). A worthwhile account of the dictatorship may be found in António de Figueiredo, *Portugal – Fifty Years of Dictatorship* (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, Inc., 1976).

Very recently a considerable number of books has appeared which attempt to penetrate the Portuguese *Weltanschauung*. Among those Eduardo Lourenço's *O Labirinto da Saudade. Psicanálise Mítica do Destino Português*. (Lisboa: Publicações Dom Quixote, 1978) is especially powerful.

(97) O. c., p. 20.

(98) O. c., p. 48.

(99) For a thorough yet broad analysis of the complexity of social causation and its role in shaping beliefs and values see, for example: Maria Ossowska, *Social Determinants of Moral Ideas* (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970).

(100) «. . . mal sabendo ler e escrever a maior parte dos nossos morgados e não sendo mesmo costume mandar ensinar isto aos filhos segundos em muitas famílias abastadas.» O. c., p. 31. This was in the last century, of course. But one cannot deny the influences of this old tradition.

(101) I should explain that a semantic discrepancy exists between the meanings of the Portuguese word *educação* and the English «education». Although the two are etymological cognates, there is not a reciprocal correspondence between their meanings. Semantically speaking, they are false friends.

When we (in English) say that the Portuguese do not value *educação*, we mean that they do not value *instruction*, or classroom schooling. It would be a mistake to assume that they do not value what *they* mean by *educação*. They do indeed value *educação*, but to them this means being brought up properly according to their value system. The problem is that they often do not believe that schools provide *educação* in that sense, and for them, *educação* is far more important than «instruction» (classroom schooling). Thus with some indignation they will argue: «Sé-me uma pessoa bem educada!»

To add to the confusion, «instruction» cannot be translated as *ensino*, because the Portuguese definitely include *«o ser-se bem ensinado»* among their top priorities. This again, however, means «to be brought up and behave properly.»

These apparent word games should merely remind us of the precautions one must take to avoid *clichés*. These latter are inevitably the result of superficial and inaccurate judgments.

(102) O. c., p. 25. Further down, Furtado writes:

> «The low level of imagination of our people reveals itself at first sight in the muddled construction of their sentences, always full of *those's* and *that's*, which often substitute full sentences that don't come to their minds.» (p. 43).

He is mistaken when he attributes the lack of appropriate vocabulary to the lack of imagination. The vocabulary is lacking for the reasons Furtado himself has already pointed to. (p. 25) Naturally, the lack of reading, limited exposure to good speakers of the language, and the dearth of opportunities to use one's entire vocabulary all contribute to poor language performance.

(103)

> «... the results obtained (especially from the study of deaf-mutes) reinforce the conviction that there is an organic unity of thinking and speech. Lack of language and speech dooms a child to the mental level of an imbecile, and limited development of language and speech limits the developmental possibilities of thinking. The development of conceptual thinking in the child is doubtless associated with the development of the function of speaking, although the mechanism of the association is far from understood.»

Adam Schaff, *Language and Cognition*. Edited by Tovert Cohen based on translation by Olgierd Wojtasiewicz. (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1973).

(104) The Azores' major interactions with the outside world have been defined almost entirely by their role as a connecting point for travel and communications between Lisbon and some other place: In the 1500's, the other place was Africa; during the 1700's, Brazil; in the late 1900's it was America. During the second quarter of this current century the islands were a layover point for flights between Europe and North America. Each of these periods provided the archipelago with the needed stimuli of attention and money. The stagnant periods in between, however, were both depressed and depressing. During these latter declines, large numbers of people felt driven to leave almost as if the Azores had lost their purpose in the world.

(105) Reliable statistics are lacking on this, but it is believed that the number of immigrant Portuguese and Americans of Portuguese descent reaches one million. These are located mostly in Massachusetts (400,000), California (300,000) and Rhode Island (100,000). A large percentage of Portuguese immigrants now in the U. S.

entered the country after 1965, following a revision in the immigration laws. Hence the fact that the Portuguese are becoming rather noticeable only recently. This is particularly true in Southeastern New England. Finally, most of these immigrants are from the Azores. See Sandra Wolforth, *The Portuguese in America*. (San Francisco, California: R and E Research Associates, 1978), p.-16-26 and 61.

(106) In the original:

> No arquipélago os barcos nunca
> são urgentes, as pessoas esperam . . .
> a ilha é um paquete estacionado, o cais
> é a unica esperança dos homens sem adeus!

J. H. Borges Martins, *Por Dentro das Viagens* (Angra do Heroísmo, 1973), p. 12.

(107) In the original:

> . . . . daqui o povo é homem
> em andamento que ficar não é
> lugar de vida nem de morte.

A Humidade, O. c., p. 27.

(108) This in no way negates my constant attempts to render my descriptions and analyses as accurate as my methods permitted.

(109) > «The only way in which we can strive for *objectivity* in theoretical analysis is to expose the valuation to full light, make them conscious, specific, and explicit, and permit them to determine the theoretical research. In the practical phases of a study, the stated value premises, together with the data (established by theoretical analysis with the use of the same value premises) should then form the premises for all policy conclusions.»

Gunnar Myrdal, *Objectivity in Social Research* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1969), p. 55-56.

The Role of Capeverdean Culture in Education

Arthur Lomba
Eastern Nazarene College

INTRODUCTION

The great interest in the subject of culture which we are currently experiencing is not a phenomenon restricted to the field of Bilingual/Bicultural education or to members of minority groups. The enormous success of the television presentation of *Roots* by Alex Haley, the ethnic decals proudly displayed on automobile bumpers, and the proliferation of Cultural Heritage Programs are all reflections of this preoccupation.

To some observers, this phenomenon is a passing fad which will run its course in due time. Others, however, view the present situation as proof that the era of the «melting pot» ideology has ended, giving rise to the more realistic perspective of «cultural pluralism». In this view, the failure of the «melting pot» theory was inevitable since it was based on the false premise that «culture» can be shed or changed in the same manner that a dress or a suit is changed. Culture is more than artifacts; it represents the learned and shared behavior patterns, attitudes, feelings, and beliefs of a people. Once these characteristics have been acquired they become as much a part of the individual as the intellectual and psychological aptitudes.

Within a unicultural society the schools continue the process of enculturation in a more structured and formalized setting, and the issue of cultural aptitude and differences is irrelevant. In a multi-cultural society, however, they must be taken into consideration if the educational needs of all the students are to be adequately met. Thus, knowledge of what constitutes the cultural characteristics of the various groups must be an essential requirement of those responsible for the delivery of education. The fact that the characteristics of minority cultures differ from those of the majority is no reason to label them bad or inferior. This judgment may be an expeditious way of eliminating the need for serious and concentrated efforts in the study of minority cultures, but in no way does it minimize their importance or the reality of their existence. A positive educational environment for members of minority cultures can be developed only if the characteristics of their cultures are recognized

and respected. Once the distinguishing cultural features of a group are identified, they can be utilized in the development of materials and strategies of instruction by the curriculum writers and teachers.

One minority group which has been in the United States for over one hundred and fifty years but whose presence has gone unnoticed is the Capeverdean. As a member of this group, I wish to discuss some of its cultural characteristics and offer suggestions for their inclusion into the curriculum and teaching strategies. I must state that this discussion is based on observations and personal experience as a native Capeverdean who was born and raised in Cape Verde.

ECONOMIC AND GEOGRAPHIC FACTORS

The Republic of Cape-Verde is situated in the Atlantic Ocean, 300 miles west of the African coast, opposite the cape called Verde from which it derives its name. The Republic is comprised of ten islands and several islets, all of which are inhabited with the exception of Santa Luzia and the islets. The islands are divided into two groups. Those to the North are called Barlavento (windward) and include the islands of Santo Antão, São Vicente, Santa Luzia, São Nicolau, Boavista, and Sal. The southern group or Sotavento (leeward) include Maio, Santiago, Fogo, and Brava. The total land area is about 1,600 square miles, one fourth of which is to be found in the largest island, Santiago.

The proximity of Cape-Verde to Africa, its midway position between Europe and South America would suggest the existence of much activity and contact with the outside world. The truth is, however, that Cape-Verde has remained one of the most isolated areas in the world. This strategic location has not produced an active center of maritime shipping or given rise to much commercial and industrial development. Most of the people depend on agriculture for their livelihood which can be rather precarious due to the lack of rainfall and the arid condition of the soil. When it rains and the islands are spared from the ravages of the dry easterly winds, sufficient maize, beans, yams, and other food staples are harvested to feed the population. When it doesn't rain, however, the consequences can be devastating. Thousands have perished during these periods of drought in which life becomes a constant struggle for survival.

The forces of nature which have conspired to make life so difficult for the Capeverdean have been unable to match his capacity to endure, to hope, and to love. In direct contrast to the harsh realities of the environment, one finds a people whose gentleness, sensitivity, and resiliency stand as testimonies to the indestructibility of the human spirit. The cruel assaults of Nature have not diminished the Capeverdean's love and respect for the land of his birth. On the contrary, they have strengthened the quasi-mystical bond between

man and his land, which has been so aptly expressed by the poet Sergio Frusoni: (1)

Ma lí qu'm nascê,
lí qu'm criá!
Ésse mar, êsse ceu, êsse chôm
ê que moldá nhâ carne
e lumiá nhâ vida.
Lí qu'm 'ta morrê!

Perhaps the most painful price which the Capeverdean must pay for these assaults is the forced emigration to other countries in search of a better life. This experience has been expressed by many Capeverdean writers and poets, but Eugenio Tavares has said it best when he wrote: (2)

Hora de bai,	Hour of departure,
Hora de dor,	Hour of grief,
Ja'n q'ré	Would that it
Pa el ca manchê!	Might never dawn!
De cada bêz	Everytime
Que'n ta lembrá,	I remember it,
Ma'n q'ré	I want to
Ficá 'n morrê!	Stay and die!

This departure is marked by sadness and grief rather than bitterness or despair since it is sustained by the hope of being able to return one day. In addition, there is always the aspiration of reaching a more advantageous position from which one may be able to help those who are left behind.

Neither isolation nor the scarcity of resources has detracted from the Capeverdean's interest in and love for learning. Education is highly respected and sought even by those who can hardly afford to pay for it. Unfortunately, the education system in Cape-Verde was used mainly as a vehicle for transmitting the values and characteristics of the dominant group. Native culture and language were excluded from the schools and viewed as hindrances to the students' progress. This created an ambiguous situation for the students since the schools were trying to do away with the very characteristics that the home and society were simultaneously reinforcing. Parental input in the educational process was negligible for it was viewed as the educator's task and domain.

HISTORICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES

Until July of 1975 Cape-Verde was a colony of Portugal. This group of

islands was discovered in 1460 by the Portuguese explorer Diogo Gomes and his Genovese companion António de Noli during an expedition to the West Coast of Africa. Since the islands were not inhabited, settlers were brought in from Portugal to begin the process of colonization. Due to the climate and the rugged terrain large numbers of African slaves were brought in to provide the needed labor. The African population soon outnumbered the European especially during the 16th and 17th centuries when the islands became an important center of slave trade. The slaves imported from the African mainland were sold and shipped to various areas of the Caribbean and South America. From these two major groups, the Europeans from Portugal and the Africans from the West Coast of Africa, a new multi-racial society gradually emerged, possessing its own culture, language, literature, and psycho-sociological characteristics.

The central government in Portugal, however, regarded this new culture as inferior and discouraged its development. It was considered primitive and unrefined, and therefore, unworthy of recognition or respect. Thus, the way to increase one's self-worth and achieve respected status was to assimilate the characteristics of the continental culture. One of the results was the creation of social classes determined by the degree of assimilation which an individual had undergone. The top rung of the social ladder was occupied by those whose assimilation had been most complete. This usually required a prolonged stay in Portugal in order to acquire all the subtleties and mannerisms of the metropolitan culture. Since only a small number of individuals had access to this experience due to the financial requirements, they became models for the rest of the population to emulate. Another model group was usually comprised of native citizens from Portugal who came to Cape-Verde as members of the government, as professionals, or as business entrepreneurs.

It was slowly established in the minds of the people that anyone or anything that came from outside was inherently superior to the native or local. This is evidenced by the awe in which Capeverdeans hold most outsiders. What is good or worthy of admiration must originate elsewhere, it cannot be produced locally. The word «'mbarcadio» soon made its appearance in the Capeverdean language in order to describe a returning Capeverdean who had left his native land to work in some foreign country. He was now viewed with greater respect because of his contact with the outside world and was subsequently allowed to climb the social ladder. The road to the top was reserved, however, for those who had acquired the cultural characteristics of the mother country, Portugal. The «'mbarcadio» who lacked these attributes found it impossible to break all the social barriers. Such was the case of many Capeverdeans who emigrated to the United States of America and returned to Cape-Verde in order to buy a house and some land.

This mentality has contributed greatly to the lack of harmony among Capeverdeans. The belief that outsiders are better equipped to resolve the vital issues of Capeverdeans has been detrimental to our growth and development as a people. It has stunted our maturing process and caused a great deal of jealousy and suspicion. This characteristic has been exploited by those who have sought to use Capeverdeans in order to accomplish their own selfish ends.

While this reverence for outsiders has prevented Capeverdeans from developing greater awareness and understanding of themselves, it has, on the other hand, produced some positive traits. Due to the strong need for contact with and approval by outsiders, Capeverdeans have a highly developed capacity for adapting to other cultures and environments. This capacity may explain in part the success with which Capeverdeans seem to learn other languages and absorb characteristics of other groups. This fact, however, should not be viewed as evidence that Capeverdeans do not suffer from ethnocentric tendencies. What it does confirm is that Capeverdeans view success achieved within other groups as the real proof of one's worth and abilities. Success within one's own cultural group is taken for granted. The members of the group are expected to possess the characteristics of the group but are discouraged from analysing or studying them seriously.

The fatalistic attitude which so many observers of the Capeverdean culture have attributed to poverty and the harshness of the environment seems to disappear once the Capeverdean becomes part of another milieu. From casual reactor he becomes a creative actor engaged in every field of endeavor which his new environment may offer him. I would like to suggest that the casual reactor and the actor are one and the same person. The success of the actor in the adopted environment must be credited to the influences of the native milieu which shaped his personality.

Once Capeverdeans realize that their success in other cultures is due to the positive influences of their own, they will have started on the road to cultural development and maturity.

THE ROLE OF THE EDUCATOR

The educator dealing with Capeverdean students must always bear in mind this cultural characteristic. Because he is an authority figure and most often an outsider, his words carry a great deal of significance. If the teacher makes a genuine effort to learn some aspects of his students' culture, it will result in greater respect and acceptance of their culture by the students simply because a significant outsider has shown approval of it. If some elements of their culture are incorporated into the instructional process used by the teacher, it will help dispel the notion that only other cultures

are worthy of having functional applications in formal educational settings. This would trigger an inward analysis resulting in greater understanding and appreciation of themselves and their culture which would lead to better comprehension of others. Admiration and respect for outsiders would be based on realistic appraisals rather than dictated by cultural circumstances.

Let us look at some examples of how to incorporate some features of the Capeverdean culture into the day to day educational process. Capeverdeans have a great love for music. It is through the medium of music that they express their innermost feelings, such as love of country, memories of departed friends, or the pain of leaving behind their loved ones. «Morna», the typical music of Cape Verde is sung throughout the archipelago accompanied usually by string instruments such as guitar, viola, cavaquinho, and violin. There is no reason why some of these instruments can't be used to accompany the singing of the national anthem and other school songs. Games of various sorts could be used to teach mathematical concepts. A student could be asked to explain how a game is played and with the help of the teacher and classmates develop many types of exercises. Recipes of native dishes could be used to teach about different types of foods and their nutritional value. With cooperation from the school cafeteria some of the dishes may even become part of the school lunch menu.

The students are an inexhaustible resource of cultural information which the creative teacher can draw from in order to develop culturally relevant didactic materials.

CONCLUSION

I have refrained in this discussion from compiling lists of Capeverdean foods, holidays, dances, and cultural artifacts, which are usually included in most studies of minority cultures, for they do not provide significant information on which the teacher may base his strategies for instruction. In fact, the naive use of such lists under the assumption that they will produce positive results may often be disappointing. Knowledge of how, when, and under what circumstances they are used is essential, if constructive results are to be obtained. This knowledge can only be acquired if one is able to identify the significant cultural traits of the particular group.

It is for this reason that I have chosen to discuss in general terms, some of the cultural traits of Capeverdeans in order that instructors may take advantage of them in the preparation of instructional materials and strategies.

NOTES

(1) Norman Araújo, *A Study of Capeverdean Literature*, p. 181.

But it was here that I was born
here that I grew up!
This sea, this sky, and this ground
it was that molded my flesh
and illuminated my life.
It is here that I shall die!

(2) Manuel Ferreira, *No Reino de Caliban*, p. 296.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Araújo, Norman, *A Study of Capeverdean Literature*, Wetteren: Cultura Press, 1966.

Brembeck, Cole, *Cultural Challenges to Education*, Lexington: D. C. Heath and Co., 1973.

Ferreira, Manuel, *No Reino de Caliban*, Lisboa: Seara Nova, 1975.

Hall, Edward, *The Silent Language*, New York: Doubleday and Co., 1959.

Saville-Troike, Muriel, *A Guide to Culture in the Classroom*, Rosslyn: *National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education*, 1978.

"Let Them Eat Crab"
Translated Proverbs in Context

George Monteiro
Brown University

A proverb functions best when one of two situations obtains: the proverb employed is already familiar to the hearer and he recognizes its immediate appropriateness as applied, or, less frequently, even though the proverb is new to the hearer he nevertheless recognizes both its proverbial form and the rightness of its immediate applicability. Such is true when proverbs are used in situations when both the employer of the proverb and his hearer(s) shares the same language and basically the same culture.

Problems arise, however, at the moment when a proverb crosses linguistic lines. I am not referring to the act of either the literary translation of proverbs, as exemplified in George Herbert's seventeenth-century collection of *Outlandish Proverbs*, or my own less than entirely successful attempt to render into English a few hundred proverbs collected from mainland Portuguese in the United States in the late 1950's and early 1960's. (I have correspondence from Archer Taylor graciously raising a series of questions about my translation of the proverbs that subtlely drove home the point that turning a proverb into a new language is not at all merely a matter of literal translation.As the New England poet Robert Frost said provocatively of the transiation of poems, the problem is that what gets lost when poetry is translated is the poetry.) Nor, for that matter, am I thinking of the unintentional wit of the computer translation. (You may recall the machine-rendering into Russian, a few years back, of the expression, «The spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak,» that came out, rather astonishingly, as «The whiskey is strong, but the cow is dead.» What I do have in mind is that rare, almost always ephemeral, instance when luckily a proverb crosses a linguistic boundary at the moment it is employed spontaneously by an informant sufficiently proficient in two languages to attempt such a translation and by one who attempts that translation in a cultural context that differs from any in which the original proverb would have been used. The informant has sized up the situation as a familiar one and therefore one that he

can approach by resorting to an appropriate proverb. Rather than searching out an equivalent in English for the original he has in mind, the informant translates it as literally as he can. The risk he runs in so doing, of course, is that his newly translated proverb makes little or no proverbial sense (although he might well not know that at first) to his «other-new-language» audience even though it would almost as a matter of course make perfect sense to those already familiar with the proverb in its original form. In such instances of translated proverbs, even more so than in the ordinary course of natural proverb use, we occasionally enjoy the unusual opportunity of having an informant not only employ a proverb in a context that appears both natural and appropriate to him but that because his translation of the proverb *ipso facto* «denaturalizes» the situation, he must explain the proverb's meaning.

Essential to the study of the proverb in context through the rhetorical approach has been Kenneth Burke's functional explanation of proverbs as *strategies* (and attitudes) for dealing with *situations*. «Insofar as situations are typical and recurrent in a given social structure,» writes Burke, «people develop names for them and strategies for handling them.»(1) Recently, Roger Abrahams has built well on Burke's insights, emphasizing that the principal function of the proverb is to clarify first, and then, perhaps, to edify. As Abrahams puts it,

> «Proverbs are descriptions that propose an attitude or a mode of action in relation to a recurrent social situation, by giving it a name, thus indicating that the problem has arisen before and that past practice has come up with a workable solution.»(2)

The translated proverb, however, depending upon the circumstances surrounding its use, can be a special case. A short time ago, I was fortunate to be present at one of those rare occasions. And I was even more fortunate in that my informant employed not one but two of those translated proverbs with different degrees of success, or failure, depending on how one chooses to view the matter. The result was that because I was able to «collect» these proverbs as a natural part of a fuller performance, that is to say, as an embedded part of an extended, if otherwise ordinary, conversation, they can be examined in greater contextual detail.

The situation is which my informant employed his Portuguese proverbs involved a mixed group of seven individuals in the offices of a television studio in Providence, Rhode Island. Among them was a young American

woman, who was a receptionist, three American men, one of whom was a native of mainland Portugual who had emigrated to the United States at an early age and the other two of whom were first-generation born Americans of Portuguese descent (again mainland), two other unidentified men, presumably Americans, and my informant, a Capeverdean man (with a modest command of English), who was the host of a local television program aimed at Hispanic and Portuguese ethnics.

In the course of the meeting this young Capeverdean found it appropriate to invoke two Portuguese proverbs, which he presented in English translation. Those proverbs can be given in the original Portuguese, and in the informant's own translated version:

1. *Não quero comprar gato no saco.*
   («I won't buy a cat in a bag.»)
2. *Quando não há peixe, come-se caranguejo.*
   («When there is no fish, one eats crab.»)

Several things about the context in which these proverbs were employed need emphasis and clarification:
(1) originating from the Cape Verde Islands, until recently a Portuguese possession, the proverbs were employed by a recent immigrant to the United States, one fluent in both Portuguese and English, in the company of several non-Cape Verdeans, some of whom, however, were bilingual in Portuguese and English;
(2) although probably originally learned in Crioule, the language of the Cape Verde Islands, the proverbs, as encountered, were employed not in Portuguese but in English translation because there were non-speakers of Portuguese in the room; and
(3) the second proverb called for immediate explanation because it was uttered in English to non-Portuguese as well as Portuguese individuals, whereas the first proverb, because it surfaced in a «Portugueses» context—that is to say, in the midst of some moments of interaction involving several speakers of Portuguese (and only speakers of Portuguese)—was not explained.

1. «I won't buy a cat in a bag.»
   (Não quero comprar gato no saco.) (3)

By means of this proverb my informant was able to explain, and to half-apologize, to his guests, though not to the other individuals in the room,

that before taping the show with the three of them he must have additional biographical information, which would help him to conduct the upcoming discussion. Interestingly enough, his guests immediately understood the proverbial form of the expression and its appropriateness to the situation. The reason for this seems to be most apparent. Although «I won't buy a cat in a bag» is not an English proverb, it is close enough in form and function to its English equivalent, «to buy a pig in a poke (a bag),» to enable immediate communication. Fortunately for him, my informant came up with a literal translation close enough to a familiar equivalent to preclude the necessity for his having to explain his proverb.

He was not as fortunate with the second proverb he called upon.

2. «When there is no fish, one eats crab.»
(Quando não há peixe, come-se carangueijo.)

Uttered in English, the proverb was meant to serve as an apology for his having to sit on the edge of an end-table because all the available chairs were occupied when he entered the room. When he realized that the proverb's meaning was not understood by anyone, least of all, perhaps, by the non-Portuguese receptionist to whom it was specifically addressed, the young Capeverdean then, rather painfully, explained the intended meaning, in context, of his proverb: when there are no chairs available, you sit on whatever is available; in this case, a table. Yet, oddly, even after his explanation, the Portuguese-Americans present, including those with a fair knowledge of Portuguese, continued to find this proverb puzzling. The main problem was that although its meaning appeared to be that sometimes one has to make do, to settle for less, in the United States crab is invariably more costly and to many people more desirable than most species of fish. As such, from the American point of view, the proverb–out of context–might well be interpreted as an expression roughly along the ironic lines of, as the French queen said of the populace, «let them eat cake.» In short, the proverb seems to say the very opposite of what the situation called for. What one needs to know to understand the proverb's true meaning is that while crab and other forms of shellfish are abundant and readily available on the rocky shores of the various Cape Verdean islands and can therefore be gathered rather easily at almost any time, fish, which comes from the deeper sea itself and which involves a more complicated and more time-consuming form of harvesting, is more difficult to come by and thus considerably more expensive.

In conclusion, it can be observed that only through a complete awareness of the context in which these proverbs crossed over from Portuguese (Crioule) into English, a journey that was undoubtedly momentary and impermanent, as well as some awareness of the original Capeverdean culture was it possible to understand the full meaning, and in the second instance the special meaning, of these proverbs in a bilingual context.

Notes

(1) Kenneth Burke, *The Philosophy of Literary Form* (New York: Vintage Books, 1957), p. 256.

(2) Roger D. Abrahams, «Proverbs and Proverbial Expressions,» *Folklore and Folklife: An Introduction*, ed. Richard M. Dorson (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1972), p. 121. See also Abrahams' influential earlier essays «On Proverb Collecting and Proverb Collections», *Proverbium*, 8 (1967), 181-85; and «Introductory Remarks to a Rhetorical Theory of Folklore,» *JAF*, 81 (April-June, 1968), 143-59, as well as Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, «Toward a Theory of Proverb Meaning,» *Proverbium*, 22 (1973), 821-27.

(3) In Crioule the proverb reads: *«M cá tá cumprá gat; na sac»* (Elsie Clews Parsons, *Folk-Lore from the Cape Verde Islands* (Cambridge, Mass.: American Folk-Lore Society, 1923), II, p. 210). It was translated into mainland Portuguese as *«Não comprarei um gato no saco»* (*Folclore do Arquipelago de Cabo Verde*, introduction by Fernando de Castro Pires de Lima (Lisboa: Agencia Geral do Ultramar, 1968), p. 756).

"No man's speech is inferior, only different"

Haugen

A Língua Caboverdiana na Educação Bilingue

Donaldo P. Macedo
Boston University

Há dois «slogans» hoje muito em voga na Educação Bilingue: «A criança tem o direito de conhecer a sua língua e a sua cultura»; «eu estou orgulhoso da minha língua e da minha cultura». Tais «slogans», infelizmente, não se aplicam a um grupo étnico que, apesar de ser bastante numeroso na Nova Inglaterra, é completamente desconhecido: trata-se do Caboverdiano. É imperativo que os professores e responsáveis da educação tomem consciência de que os caboverdianos não estão a ser abrangidos pela verdade dessas expressões. E, sobretudo, devem estar a par dos obstáculos que impedem os nossos alunos de usufruirem o direito de estudar a sua própria língua e cultura.

O «slogan», «A criança tem o direito de conhecer a sua língua e cultura» não tem sido aplicado aos estudantes caboverdianos devido ao facto de que os caboverdianos, anteriormente, eram incluídos no Programa Bilingue Português. Embora historicamente fossem sempre classificados como portugueses, a realidade é que o caboverdiano forma um grupo étnico diferente do português, falando uma língua distinta e possuindo uma cultura própria. Por conseguinte, ao afirmarem que o Português é a sua língua mãe (quando 90% dos caboverdianos inscritos no Programa Bilingue Português não falam o Português) e são obrigados a usar essa língua como meio de instrução nas aulas, os seus problemas linguísticos tornam-se cada vez mais complexos. Estão a aprender duas línguas estrangeiras ao mesmo tempo: a língua portuguesa e a língua inglesa. Quanto à cultura, as experiências são muito mais dramáticas, porque os alunos são forçados a renunciar à sua origem para se defrontarem com outras duas completamente estranhas a eles. Aqui, as implicações educativas são maiores e mais profundas, e requerem um estudo mais apurado. O «slogan» «eu estou orgulhoso da minha língua e da minha cultura» representa um trágico dilema, cuja origem pode ter sido o colonialismo português ou a teoria do racismo e da assimilação dos Estados Unidos. Este assunto merece também um estudo separado, o qual explicar-nos-ia a falta de apreço pessoal do caboverdiano, obrigando-o a uma eterna busca da sua identidade.

O colonialismo português fez tudo quanto esteve ao seu alcance para destruir a cultura e a língua caboverdianas. Procedendo assim, Portugal estava a assegurar o seu domínio imperialista e colonialista. O valor duma cultura representa por ela própria um dos factores mais eficazes de resistência ao colonialismo e ao imperialismo. «A história ensina-nos que, em determinadas circunstâncias, é mais fácil ao estrangeiro impor o seu domínio sobre um povo. Mas ela também ensina-nos que tudo quanto se refere ao aspecto material desse domínio, somente pode ser mantido pela opressão organizada e permanente da vida cultural desse povo. A dominação estrangeira

somente pode ser mantida e assegurada pela liquidação física duma parte significativa do povo oprimido. De facto, pegar em armas para destruir um povo, é antes de mais, pegar em armas para liquidar, ou pelo menos, para neutralizar e paralizar a sua vida cultural». (1) O colonialismo português conseguiu paralizar a vida cultural do povo caboverdiano durante séculos, abusando cautelosamente da mentalidade do povo oprimido, obrigando-o a aceitar que a sua cultura era selvagem e a sua língua uma corrupção linguística do Português. E, para que este fosse aceite, o caboverdiano teve que se empenhar a fundo em assimilar a cultura e a língua portuguesas, renunciando à sua própria maneira de viver. Esta lavagem de cérebro sistemática foi conseguida através de técnicas cruéis, sobretudo conservando o povo analfabeto, mantendo o território extremamente subdesenvolvido, ao ponto de fazer com que Cabo Verde dependesse cem por cento de Portugal no aspecto económico. Tal lavagem de cérebro foi mantida também pela introdução de classes sociais e pela prática persistente da opressão cultural, procurando destruir o seu veículo de comunicacão, que é o seu idioma crioulo. A língua portuguesa foi imposta aos caboverdianos e a língua nativa, o Crioulo, foi expressamente proibida na educação.

Quando se me ocorreu fazer este trabalho sobre a língua caboverdiana na Educação Bilingue pensei que seria melhor, devido ao limitado tempo, focar o aspecto diacrónico da língua caboverdiana em vez de analizá-la no seu aspecto sincrónico. Isto é, em vez de discutir as regras que governam as estruturas linguísticas da língua caboverdiana, devotarei o meu tempo a uma breve análise do fenómeno linguístico que se verificou nas Ilhas de Cabo Verde em função dos muitos vernáculos em contacto.

Começarei por citar um comentário recentemente feito por um Professor Catedrático de Português a respeito da língua caboverdiana. Sempre que me referi à língua caboverdiana num trabalho de pesquisa que levei a efeito - «A Relação Fonema-Grafia: Um Problema Linguístico ou Político» - esse Professor Catedrático riscou a palavra «língua», substituindo-a por «crioulo». Devo realçar que esta atitude prevalece não só entre os eruditos portugueses, mas também entre os caboverdianos.

De facto, a maioria dos caboverdianos perfilha esta infeliz opinião. Durante uma recente tentativa para desenvolver programas bilingues caboverdianos, a maioria dos pais opôs-se violentamente ao movimento, justificando a sua atitude com a afirmação de que o caboverdiano não é uma língua mas sim um crioulo, um dialecto do Português, sem gramática e não susceptível de ser escrito. Este fenómeno ocorre igualmente entre outros crioulos; um caso pertinente seria o crioulo haitiano, como analizado por

Jules Faine: «a nossa língua materna fundamenta-se em grande parte num complexo de inferioridade social ou racial.»

Este complexo de inferioridade provém da atitude do Haitiano em relação à sua língua. Alguns educadores fizeram-me ver, em conversa, a difícil tarefa que têm de confrontar com a implementação do Programa Bilingue Haitiano. Falava eu recentemente com um enfermeiro haitiano e pedi-lhe a sua opinião sobre o ensino da língua haitiana nas escolas. A resposta dele foi: «penso que se refere ao «patois»; contudo, o «patois» não é língua. Por isso, teremos que usar o Francês.» Não deveriamos estranhar totalmente que os caboverdianos perfilhem esta opinião, já que esta linha de pensamento tem uma base histórica que explicará provavelmente este negativismo do caboverdiano em relação à sua língua materna.

Foi o conterrâneo Luís Romano quem me despertou a atenção para vários factos históricos que têm relegado a língua caboverdiana a um plano desprezível.

Durante séculos, o governo português fez propaganda contra a língua caboverdiana. Nos princípios do século 19, António Pusich afirmara: «a língua que usam os caboverdianos é um ridículo crioulo, diferente em cada ilha, na pronúncia e em muitos termos, sendo vergonha, entre eles e mui particularmente entre as mulheres, o falarem e o usarem o idioma do Reino». (3) Anos mais tarde, em 1841, Varnhagen e Chelmichi fizeram a seguinte observação no livro *Corografia Caboverdiana*: «São apenas os filhos de Portugal que ainda falam a língua portuguesa, e mesmo esses acostumam-se logo à ridícula e chamada língua, idioma o mais perverso, corrupto e imperfeito, sem construção, sem gramática e que não se pode escrever». (4) Para contradizer a afirmação desses senhores podemos apresentar o facto de que no século 17 muitos documentos enviados a Portugal eram escritos em Crioulo. (5) Mais ainda, a Bíblia foi traduzida para o Crioulo a fim de catequizar os nativos. Este documento encontra-se na «Bible Society-Boston».(6)

Seguindo a mesma linha de ideia, Lopes de Lima realçara nos seus escritos em 1884: «gíria ridícula, composto monstruoso do antigo português e da língua da Guiné». (7) Os caboverdianos assimilados fizeram o mesmo nesta cruzada de denúncias contra a utilização da língua caboverdiana. Entre eles temos um professor da Escola Secundária que, durante os anos trinta, condenara a língua nativa caracterizando o Crioulo«como crime de lesa-língua nacional». (8)

Nos anos mais recentes, Gilberto Freyre visitou Cabo Verde e concluiu: «me repugna o dialecto caboverdiano». (9) Finalmente há que salientar a opinião dum ex-reitor do Liceu de Santiago: «Este dialecto portu-

guês com várias palavras africanas, espanholas, inglesas e francesas à mistura, prejudica bastante o ensino, principalmente os exercícios de redacção em português e na exposição oral das lições. Embora proibido no Liceu, os alunos nem sempre acatam esta determinação e falam-no constantemente, durante os recreios, fora do Liceu e em casa. O meio citadino e familiar, o dialecto, a preguiça, são causas do mau aproveitamento». (10) Será que a dificuldade dos alunos em escreverem e falarem o português está no facto de que eles falam a sua língua nativa ou será que essa dificuldade aparece quando uma segunda língua lhes é imposta e são obrigados pela lei a exprimir os seus sentimentos mais profundos e íntimos numa língua estrangeira? Se lermos atentamente a citação de Horácio Mesquita «o meio citadino e familiar, o dialecto, a preguiça, são causas de mau aproveitamento», notamos que na frase do Sr. Mesquita existe implicitamente um propósito genocida, para que o ensino se dê.

Apesar de todos os contratempos e de toda a opressão, a língua caboverdiana tem conseguido sobreviver e a reafirmção do seu valor é irreversível.

Após se ouvirem tantas declarações negativas feitas por pessoas que pretendem conceder um nível baixo à língua caboverdiana, torna-se evidente o desconhecimento desses autores sobre a classificação das línguas, ao mesmo tempo que a sua simplista e errónea categorização da língua caboverdiana demonstra igualmente a sua ignorância sobre a natureza das línguas.

Acho que vem agora a propósito uma definição linguística de língua, dialecto, crioulo e pidgin e, concomitantemente, uma tentativa de classificação da língua caboverdiana à luz dessa definição.

Sturtevant definindo língua, escreve: «uma língua é um sistema de símbolos vocais arbitrários de que os membros de um grupo social se servem nas suas actividades de cooperação e interacção.» (11) De acordo com esta definição linguística, torna-se evidente que não se pode negar o estatuto de língua ao veículo de comunicação usado pelos caboverdianos. Todos nós utilizamos um sistema de símbolos vocais e é através destes símbolos que nós cooperamos e levamos a cabo a nossa interacção. A ideia de que a língua caboverdiana é um dialecto do Português pretende ter a sua justificação na suposição de que ela é uma simplificação do Português como escreve Dulce Almada: «o crioulo é, pois, o português simplificado na boca dos escravos africanos trazidos para as ilhas». (12) Contudo, os linguistas têm ultimamente levantado sérias dúvidas sobre esta noção. Assim, acreditam que o que se via como simplificação é, de facto, uma reinterpretação da língua domin-

ante (neste caso o Português) adentro das estruturas linguísticas africanas. Esta teoria é justificada pelas semelhanças estruturais entre as línguas crioulas e africanas. O sistema da não-inflexão dos verbos nas línguas crioulas, por exemplo, é um vestígio da influência que a morfologia africana teve no desenvolvimento dessas línguas. O sistema verbal de muitas línguas africanas caracteriza-se pela não-inflexão dos verbos. Vejamos o paralelo existente no presente do indicativo do verbo amar entre a língua yoruba e a caboverdiana:

a língua yoruba	a língua caboverdiana
emi ferã	'n amâ
iwo ferã	bo amâ
oũ ferã	él amâ
awa ferã	no amâ
eyĩ ferã	nhos amâ
nwo ferã	es amâ

A ausência de inflexão dos verbos na língua caboverdiana não representa uma base firme para justificar que esta língua é um dialecto do Português, como Dulce Almada sugeriu: «o crioulo cabo-verdiano é unicamente um dialecto do português».(13) Um dialecto é a variante linguística de uma língua motivada por factores de ordem geográfica ou socio-económica. O facto de ser variante não implica inferioridade linguística: «to say that any dialect is inferior is to be linguistically ignorant of language». (14) O contacto de dois ou mais vernáculos não produz, necessariamente, um dialecto. De facto, um dialecto traduz-se numa variante linguística que se desvia do «padrão», mas é compreendido por todos os membros falantes dessa comunidade linguística. Como exemplo, temos o idioma do Presidente Kennedy vis à vis o idioma do Presidente Carter ou a diferença existente entre o idioma falado por um erudito e aquele falado por um iletrado. No mundo de expressão portuguesa citaríamos os dialectos brasileiros em oposição aos dialectos falados em Portugal Continental.

A língua resultante do contacto de duas ou mais línguas chama-se «pidgin». Este desenvolvimento linguístico é usado como meio de inter-

comunicação entre comunidades linguísticas diferentes e desaparece em regra quando a interacção entre os grupos em presença deixa de se verificar. Nalguns casos, o «pidgin» sobrevive por longo tempo, desenvolvendo-se, então, no que é hoje conhecido como «crioulo». A definição linguística de crioulo seria, pois, um «pidgin» que se tornou a língua nativa de um indivíduo. Este é, em regra, um descendente de pai europeu e mãe africana. De acordo com esta conclusão, podemos ter a seguinte situação linguística: a língua europeia, a(s) língua(s) africana(s) e o «pidgin» que é, afinal, a língua franca entre esses dois grupos. Por um lado, o recém-nascido adquire esta língua franca e começa, assim, o processo de evolução que depois se cristaliza em crioulo. Por outro lado, sendo o crioulo o resultado de desculturação e aculturação pode-se compreender o predomínio de palavras europeias no seu léxico. Tal acontece porque o recém-nascido, ao adquirir a fala, tenta assimilar a língua considerada «superior» (neste caso o português) e faz pouco uso dos vocábulos da língua considerada «inferior» (africana).

O termo «crioulo» foi primeiramente usado para designar os filhos dos colonos nascidos na colónia. Foi usado mais tarde para designar a nova língua que era, em si, o desenvolvimento de um «pidgin». À luz de tudo isto, afirmarei frisando que o crioulo foi usado pejorativamente como um símbolo social típico de um determinado grupo e bem assim como a língua falada por esse mesmo grupo. Assim, a discriminação declarada e dissimulada contra as línguas crioulas só pode ser justificada sob uma perspectiva social. Sob uma perspectiva linguística, não existem quaisquer razões inerentes que nos levem a concluir que o Português é uma língua e o idioma caboverdiano um crioulo.

Com a mencionada opressão cultural podemos agora compreender porque é que o Caboverdiano tem pouca consciência da sua identidade. Quando ele chega aos Estados Unidos, onde a cor da pele desempenha um papel importantíssimo na identificação étnica, os seus conflictos intensificam-se e então depara-se com uma enorme e eterna crise de identidade. Ele tem de fazer a opção: ser branco ou preto. Porém, acha que não se encontra em nenhuma destas categorias. Este problema racial torna-se às vezes muito trágico para os Caboverdianos nos Estados Unidos: «Some Capeverdean families have been so split over race that white cousins won't talk to black cousins». (15) Esta desafortunada atitude desenvolve-se na sociedade estadunidense, coisa que não ocorre em Cabo Verde. Embora exista a consciência da cor, esta desempenha um papel secundário. O homem é avaliado mais pela classe social a que pertence do que pela cor segundo indica Dulce Almada: «Daí o problema não se pôr sempre em termos de cor, como de capacidade

económica. Deve vir daí a designação, ainda usada, de 'branco' não para indicar cor da pele, mas a situação socio-económica da pessoa em questão». (16)

O racismo praticado contra os caboverdianos já vem do tempo em que chegavam aos Estados Unidos nos barcos de pesca de baleia. Há documentos de 1870, segundo consta do livro de Crocker Kittredge sobre os índios de Mashpee:

> «About this time a new ingredient was added to the already miscellaneous nationality of the Mashpee. Every returning New Bedford whaler brought home a few Bravas, or black Portuguese, among its crew. These Cape Verdean savages, a cross between exiled Portuguese criminals and the aborigines of the Islands, began to drift into Mashpee and marry into the hybrid of Indians and African Negroes they found there». (17)

Neste ambiente xenófobo, foi necessário que o caboverdiano escolhesse um grupo com o qual ele pudesse identificar-se pela cor. Se ele fosse preto, era considerado americano de cor; se fosse mulato, tomava o apelido espanhol, e se fosse branco acomodava-se à dominante.

Com a promulgação da «Lei Bilingue», pensou-se que o choque de cultura e as barreiras linguísticas poderiam ser eliminadas em todos os alunos que não dominassem perfeitamente a língua inglesa. Para os estudantes caboverdianos matriculados nas escolas públicas isso não aconteceu. A situação crítica do Programa Bilingue Português em Brockton, New Bedford e Pawtucket é um exemplo mais do que clarividente. Os caboverdianos são matriculados no Programa Português, enfrentando outras duas línguas estrangeiras (a língua portuguesa e a inglesa), o que aumenta as suas dificuldades linguísticas. Não se sabe concretamente como resolver os problemas presentes nesses Programas. Entretanto, os alunos caboverdianos continuam a sofrer tremendamente. Já tinha apresentado previamente no Segundo Congresso Nacional de Português algumas alternativas que poderiam resolver o problema existente:

1. A criança poderia aprender o Português e mais tarde fazer a transição para o Inglês;
2. ou a criança poderia ser instruída somente em Inglês;
3. ou a criança poderia ser instruída na língua Caboverdiana e mais tarde fazer a transição para o Inglês. (18)

Se se adoptar a primeira alternativa a criança continuará a ser classificada portuguesa e o problema permanecerá. Se seguirmos a segunda a criança não beneficiará do programa bilingue e a situação continuará a ser a mesma que existia antes do aparecimento da Educação Bilingue. Se adoptarmos a terceira, há que considerar o facto de que os caboverdianos não são reconhecidos como um grupo étnico diferente do português, e a sua língua continua a ser classificada como uma corrupção linguística do Português, a qual não se pode escrever.

As duas primeiras alternativas são as que têm estado em acção e têm sido um fracasso. É clarividente que estas opções não têm satisfeito as necessidades psicológicas e educativas dos estudantes caboverdianos. O facto é que os alunos caboverdianos neste momento matriculados no Programa Bilingue Português estão a aprender o idioma português, o qual é usado como meio de ensino. Devemos, neste caso, fazer uma série de perguntas no que diz respeito à eficácia desse processo de instrução. O ensino de uma segunda língua não atrasará o progresso do estudante noutras disciplinas, se esta segunda língua é utilizada como único meio de instrução? Que acontecerá à segunda língua quando o aluno é introduzido na terceira (a língua inglesa), quando este programa bilingue é somente transitório e não permanente? Estará este programa orientado a criar o amor e a confiança em si mesmo, quando, ambas, a língua e a cultura são menosprezadas?

Quando se fazem estas perguntas as respostas são: o Crioulo não é língua; não temos materiais didáticos; esses alunos caboverdianos são portugueses e, portanto, eles devem aprender a língua e a cultura portuguesas. É o nosso dever e responsabilidade convencer os educadores (administradores) e pais caboverdianos (em muitos casos) de que o idioma caboverdiano é uma língua rica e que a cultura caboverdiana é única e valiosa. (Os pais falam a língua caboverdiana 99% do tempo em casa com os seus filhos, mas, devido à sua mentalidade, explicada na introdução deste trabalho, eles pensam que só o Português deve ser utilizado como meio de instrução). É importante mencionar aqui que muitos pais caboverdianos têm as suas limitações em expressar-se na língua portuguesa. Daí que esta língua não é falada em casa com os filhos. E como a língua portuguesa é usada apenas nas aulas, há dificuldade em adquirir a fluidez necessária para ser utilizada como veículo de ensino no programa bilingue das nossas crianças: «The life of a language depends first and foremost upon its use in other domains. When a person has skills in two languages this individual bilingualism, if it is to be stable, must be sustained by diglossic norms of community use». (19)

«Não temos materiais didácticos para ensinar a ler e a escrever o idioma caboverdiano». Esta resposta não é totalmente certa. De facto o colonialismo português travou o desenvolvimento da língua caboverdiana, (assunto tratado anteriormente). Visto não haver abundância de material escrito no idioma caboverdiano, há que recorrer a outras fontes. Como em Cabo Verde não há televisão nem muitos meios de divulgação cultural, as crianças muitas vezes, entretêm-se ouvindo contos folclóricos narrados pelos mais velhos. É assim que possuímos um rico folclore, incluindo contos de animais para crianças. A Doutora Elsie Clews Parsons publicou em Inglés e em Caboverdiano uma série de 133 contos. Este livro foi mais tarde traduzido em Português pela Agência Geral do Ultramar. (20)

Mesmo que não houvesse nenhuns escritos em Caboverdiano toda a criança caboverdiana possui um reportório de contos e experiências que podem ser utilizados no ensino da leitura e da cultura. Isto pode ser levado a cabo através de «Language Experience Reading Approach» no qual o aluno utiliza materiais provenientes da sua própria experiência étnica, facto que o estimula a ler no seu próprio idioma, ao mesmo tempo que valoriza esse idioma e essa cultura. A língua faz parte e é a expressão do ambiente cultural da criança.

Todos esses materiais podem ser usados para ensinar os alunos a ler o Caboverdiano, seguindo o mesmo método que se segue no ensino do Português, com a grande vantagem, porém, do estudante já possuir um vocabulário adequado e, mais ainda, ele poder articular com relativa facilidade todos os fonemas da sua língua mãe. Isto facilitará a percepção e a diferenciação dos sons e as relações do fonema-grafia. Se ensinarmos o aluno caboverdiano a ler em Português, ele terá de se preocupar não somente com a técnica da leitura, mas também com a aquisição de novos sons e significados de palavras. Por exemplo: é mais fácil ensinar um aluno caboverdiano a destrinçar o /p/ e o /b/ na sua própria língua do que em Português. Quando a criança ouve a palavra /p/o/t/i/, tem um significado para ela; o mesmo acontece quando ouve a palavra /b/o/t/i/. Assim, o aluno facilmente poderá estabelecer que o som «oti» é o mesmo para ambas as palavras e que somente o /p/ e o /b/ possuem sons diferentes. Seguindo o processo de substituição, ele pode descobrir essa diferença e semelhança nas palavras /l/o/t/i/, /ʃ/o/t/i/, /n/o/t/i/, e assim succesivamente pelo acréscimo dos fonemas /l/, /ʃ/ e /n/ ao «oti» na posição inicial. Se tal processo fosse levado a cabo através do Português o estudante defrontar-se-ia com mais dificuldades. Temos, por exemplo, as palavras «cão» e «pão». Os alunos caboverdianos desconhecem o ditongo «ão» porque este não existe na

sua língua nativa. Tão pouco saberiam o significado dessas palavras. Na língua caboverdina «cão» é «catchor» e «pão» é «pom», os quais são distintos das palavras protuguesas.

Sem dúvida alguma, é mais vantajoso para o aluno aprender a ler na sua própria língua do que numa língua estrangeira. Além disso, o processo que ensina a criança a ler na sua própria língua leva-a a ter orgulho da sua cultura, a qual lhe permite encontrar o lugar que lhe compete na sociedade. Daí que é de recomendar que ao aluno não lhe seja ensinado a ler numa segunda língua, se esta é introduzida à custa da renúncia do seu idioma materno, como no caso da língua caboverdiana:

> «In learning any foreign language a child may find difficulty in mastering the alien vocabulary and syntax sufficiently to express his ideas in it. Where the foreign language belongs to a wholly alien culture, he is faced with the added and much greater difficulties: to interpret to himself the new ideas in terms of his own medium of thought - his mother tongue and to express own ideas and thought through the new modes of the alien tongue. Ideas which have been formulated in one language are difficult to express through the modes of another, that a person habitually faced with this task can readily lose his facility to express himself. A child, faced with this task at an age when his powers of self-expression even in his mother tongue are but incompletely developed, may possibly never achieve adequate self-expression.
>
> ...To expect him to deal with the new information or ideas presented to him in an unfamiliar language is to impose on him a double burden, and he will make slower progress». (21)

Mais, se as crianças aprenderem a ler na língua que elas dominam e depois numa segunda língua, elas progredirão melhor do que se fossem introduzidas directamente na segunda língua. No caso dos alunos caboverdianos nos Estados Unidos, a transição deverá fazer-se da língua materna para o Inglês. O Português poderá ser um obstáculo ao processo do ensino do aluno caboverdiano no Programa Bilingue: «As a general principal, however, we hold that a child should not begin to learn two foreign languages at the same

time: Where a third language is taught, its introduction should be delayed until the second language is well under way». (22)

A língua caboverdiana não deve ser introduzida apenas para satisfazer o ensino da língua, mas, sobretudo, como veículo que leva o aluno a aprender as outras disciplinas. Desta forma o estudante vai adquirindo vocabulário suficiente que lhe garantirá uma transição fácil para o Inglês, pois, ele já tem desenvolvida a capacidade de ler na sua língua materna. Deste modo é só transferir essa capacidade de leitura para uma segunda língua. Podemos acrescentar que o ensino do Inglês não deve ser feito somente nas aulas do Inglês como uma segunda língua. O ensino do Inglês como o de qualquer outra língua, deve ser realizado nas aulas de Arte, Matemática, etc. Recomenda-se que enquanto se ensina o Inglês o aluno caboverdiano deve ser integrado no ambiente cultural em que vive. É certo que a criança aprende muito dos companheiros.

Concluindo, o actual Programa Bilingue para os caboverdianos é inadequado. Devem tomar-se medidas capazes de remediar a presente situação de acordo com as necessidades dos alunos. Ensinar a ler na língua nativa, o que é uma questão bastante discutida no Programa Bilingue Caboverdiano, pode ser efectuada através da preparação de professores. Este ponto de vista é também adimitido pelas teorias do relatório da Unesco e pelos escritos de Nancy Modiano: «In each area, students who had first learned to read in their mother language read with greater comprehension in the national language than did those who received all reading instruction in the latter».(23)

Notes

(1) Amilcar Cabral, «Libertação Nacional e Cultura» - Discurso proferido na Universidade de Syracuse, Syracuse, New York, no dia 20 de Fevereiro de 1970 em Comemoração da morte de Eduardo Mondlane.

(2) Jules Faine, *Le Créole dans L'Univers*, (Port-au-Prince, 1939).

(3) António Pusich, «Memórias» in «As Ilhas de Cabo Verde no Princípio do século XIX, de Orlando Ribeiro, vol. IV, no. 4, Lisboa.

(4) Francisco A. Varnhagen e José C. De Chelmichi, *Corografia Caboverdiana* (Lisboa, 1841).

(5) Luis Romano, «A Língua Caboverdiana», unpublished manuscript.

(6) Eduardo Moreira, *Padás de Scriture na Criolo de Dja-Braba* (Edinburgh, Sociedade Biblica Nacional de Escocia).

(7) José Joaquim Lopes de Lima, *Ensaios sobre a Estátistica das Possesões Portuguesas no Ultramar* (Lisboa, 1844).

(8) João Miranda, in «A Língua Caboverdiana» de Luis Romano, unpublished manuscript.

(9) Gilberto Freyre, *Aventura e Rotina* (Lisboa, ed. portuguesa).

(10) Horácio Mesquita, in «Anais da Junta de Investigações Coloniais» (Lisboa).

(11) Edgar H. Sturtevant, *An Introduction to Linguistic Science* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947), p. 2.

(12) Dulce Almada, «O Crioulo Expressão de Identidade Cultural do Cabo-Verdiano» (Cabo Verde, 1978).

(13) Dulce Almada, *Cabo Verde - Contribuição para o Estudo do Dialecto Falado no seu Arquipélago* (Lisboa: Junta de Investigação do Ultramar, 1961).

(14) Walter Loban, «A Sustained Program of Language Learning,» *Language Programs for the Disadvantaged*, ed. Richard Corbin and Muriel Crosby (Champaign, Illinois: National Council of Teachers of English, 1965), p. 228.

(15) Barry Glassner, «Cape Verdeans: A People Without a Race» (Sepia Magazine, November 1975).

(16) Dulce Almada, «O Crioulo Expressão de Identidade Cultural do Cabo-Verdiano» (Cabo Verde, 1978).

(17) C. H. Kittredge, *Cape Cod: Its People and Their History* (Boston & New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1930).

(18) Donaldo P. Macedo, «Conceptualizing Bilingual Education for Capeverdeans in the United States» in *Proceedings of the Second National Portuguese Conference* (Fall River: NADC Publication, 1977).

(19) Rolf Kjolseth, «Bilingual Education in the United States: For Assimilation or Pluralism.» In Bernard Spolsky (ed.).

(20) Elsie Clews Parsons, *Folclore do Arquipélago de Cabo Verde* (Lisboa: Agência-Geral do Ultramar).

(21) UNESCO, *The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education* (Paris: UNESCO, 1953).

(22) Ibid., p. 700.

(23) Nancy Modiano, «Bilingual Education for Children of Linguistic Minorities» (America Indígena 28).

Bibliografia

Almada, Dulce, Cabo Verde - *Contribuição para o Estudo do Dialecto Falado no seu Arquipélago*. Lisboa: Junta de Investigação do Ultramar, 1961.

- - - - - - - -, «O Crioulo Expressão de Identidade Cultural do Cabo-Verdiano». Cabo Verdiano». Cabo Verde, 1978. (Unpublished Manuscript).

Anais da Junta de Investigções Coloniais. Lisboa.

Cabrai, Amilcar, «Libertação Nacional e Cultura». New York: Syracuse University, 1970.

Faine, Jules, *Le Créole dans L'Univers*. Port-au-Prince, 1939.

Freyre, Gilberto, *Aventura e Rotina*. Lisboa: ed. portuguesa.

Glassner, Barry. «Cape Verdeans: A People Without a Race». Sepia Magazine, November, 1975.

Kittredge, C. H., *Cape Cod: Its People and Their History*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1930.

Kjolseth, Rolf, «Bilingual Education Programs in the United States: For Assimilation or Pluralism?». *The Language Education of Minority Children*, ed. B. Spolsky, Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1972.

Lima, José J. L., *Ensaios sobre a Estatística das Possessões no Ultramar*. Lisboa, 1844.

Loban, Walter, «A Sustained Program of Language Learning». *Language Programs for the Disadvantaged*, ed. Richard Corbin and Muriel Crosby. Champaign, Ill.: National Council of Teachers of English, 1965.

Macedo, Donaldo P., «Conceptualizing Bilingual Education for Capeverdeans in the United States». *Proceedings of the Second National Portuguese Conference*. Fall River: NADC Publication, 1977.

Modiano, Nancy, *National or Mother Language in Beginning Reading*. New York: New York University.

Moreira, Eduardo, *Padás de Scritura na Criolo de Dja-Braba*. Edinburgh: Sociedade Bíblica Nacional de Escócia.

Parsons, Elsie C., *Folclore do Arquipélago de Cabo Verde*. Lisboa: Agência Geral do Ultramar.

Pusich, António, «Memórias» in «As Ilhas de Cabo Verde no Princïnpio do Século XIX». Orlando Ribeiro, vol. IV. no. 4, Lisboa.

Romano, Luis, «A Língua Caboverdiana». Rio de Janeiro (Unpublished Manuscript).

Sturtevant, Edgar H., *An Introduction to Linguistic Science*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947.

UNESCO. *The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education*. Paris: UNESCO, 1953.

Varnhagem, Francisco A. e José C. de Chelmichi, *Corografia* Caboverdiana. Lisboa, 1841.

Teaching Reading in English to Portuguese Speakers: A Background for Teachers

Adeline Becker
Multi-Lingual Multi-Cultural Resource Center

«Reading is generally recognized to be the most important subject taught in the elementary school. Proficient reading is essential as a tool for learning a large portion of subject matter throughout the successive school levels. Moreover, in recent years greater recognition is being given to the importance of proficient reading in high school and college.» (1)

Despite the fact that the teaching of reading may well be the most widely discussed, researched and controversial area in the modern school curriculum, it is undoubtedly the most misunderstood and mismanaged as well. Few teachers will deny the importance of reading in the student's overall school achievement, yet the teachers themselves, according to a highly publicized 1965 1st grade study conducted by the Federal Office of HEW, are the ones who translate the reading process into future success or failure for the millions of students who come under their charge each year. This startling revelation shook the foundation of those who for years contended that the method employed, materials used and even classroom atmosphere were the critical factors in determining reading success and the teacher was just a facilitating agent.

I mention this controversy, by way of introduction into yet another highly controversial area; namely that of teaching reading to the non-native speaker of English. The unresolved reading problems of the last five decades so aptly delineated over the years by Betts,(2) Botel,(3) Chall,(4) Dolch,(5) Durell,(6) Fries,(7) Harris,(8) and Witty,(9) are compounded by the often greater problems of learning a second language, and learning to read in that language.

There is current data available on the advisability of beginning reading (if not all) instruction in the student's native language. Recent studies by Lambert,(10) Matilla,(11) McDonald,(12) Modiano,(13) Politzer,(14) and Wolk,(15) have confirmed the hypothesis of successful transfer from the native to the second language.

This implies that in order to allow maximum output, the teacher must begin reading instruction in the native Portuguese, Italian, Spanish, French, etc. of the student, and transfer the process to English once mastery at some pre-designated level is indicated. The ramifications of this are far-reaching, for the task now remains to familiarize teachers working with the non-English speakers first with methodology for teaching reading to native speakers (so that they may work in the students' vernacular e.g. Portuguese) and in contrastive methodology on teaching in the second language (English). This in effect amounts to a double dosage of reading technique, a necessity for using comparative analysis and a deep understanding of the nature of the reading and language learning processes.

If, in fact, the teacher is the one significant variable who will determine the learning progress of her students, then the teacher must be provided with a basic approach to reading instruction for the non-native English speaker, for the better her preparation, the greater the chance of her students' success.

Introduction to Print

The written word is an abstraction. Exactly what is «c-a-s-a»? It is a symbol of the spoken word «casa,» which in turn is a symbol of the actual house. Print, then, is a symbol of symbol or something twice removed from reality! While to literate adults this concept appears self-evident, it does serve to point out to the second language reading teacher the position of the written word in relation to the spoken word. Namely that knowledge of the spoken word is the intervening step between reality and the written word. In brief, if a student cannot listen with comprehension and speak with understanding then introduction to the graphic system of a language is premature.

The sequential development of language is constant, existing in a hierarchy of difficulty beginning with listening and speaking and continuing in to reading and writing. While the sequence doesn't vary, the time needed for mastery of each level is contigent upon the individual learner's background, so that a pre-literate student may take a year to go from the listening and speaking stage to reading, an illiterate student 2 years to achieve the same and a literate youngster, 6 months. These hypothetical estimates point up a significant consideration in dealing with Portuguese children learning English, namely their experience in learning to read in their native Portuguese.

For the pre-literate native speaker of Portuguese, no formal contact with the reading process is assumed. This youngster, as it is true with any pre-literate individual, is by virtue of his or her age, not expected to have any

familiarity with or previous exposure to reading. This being the case, would it be advisable to commence reading in the new language, i. e. English, since that is the way the student will be asked to read in most of his adult life? Studies by Dulay and Burt,(16) Feeley,(17) Hansen,(18) Justin,(19) and Miller and Johnson(20) indicate this is not the case. A child brings 5 years of experience to the readiness stage. To negate the language development associated with this experience is to put the child at a distinct disadvantage——five years worth!

Traditional vernacular readiness involves the development of a series of skills pre-requisite to reading. Included are auditory and visual discrimination (both gross and fine), eye–hand coordination, reasonable attention span, listening with comprehension, oral language development of concepts and complete sentence structures, alphabet recognition, initial sound discrimination, ability to recognize singular and plural forms, past and present tenses, rhyming words, an understanding of story sequences, a recall of relevant story detail, an ability to think creatively beyond the story, etc..

Activities designed to develop these skills range from tracing pictures to identifying the appropriate sound in a minimal pair, listening to stories and retelling them, learning to share toys, categorize pictures and trace letters. It includes finding the larger of two pictures and the smallest of ten, the distinction between a train whistle and a drum beat, a circle and an oval, a «t» and an «f».

The readiness stage can last anywhere from six months to five years and that is among «average», pre-literate children learning in their native language!

Readiness for a pre-literate youngster learning in a second language involves all of the above with the addition of mastery of the language itself, namely those listening and speaking skills pre-requisite to performance at the readiness level. «The program of oral language development, like that of any learner engaged in becoming proficient in any language, will depend upon the extent of his experiences, the previously acquired concepts, the intellectual potential, and the countless other differences of individuals.»(21) When the pre-literate pupil has enjoyed a wide variety of experiences, the readiness stage may consist of merely attaching new labels, in English, to concepts already mastered in his native Portuguese. Problems arise when meanings acquired in one cultural context do not have equivalents in English, or vice versa. Other activities concentrate on listening for sounds, comprehending sound patterns and reproducing sounds and structures in English relatively free from the influences of the sounds and structures of the vernacular Portuguese.

However, not all pre-literate students bring rich images, well- developed

concepts and broad understanding of themselves and their surroundings to the classroom setting. What of those youngsters whose background consists of little real information, few experiences from which concepts and language could grow, limited encounters with their surroundings, and few exposures to objects and their labels? What of those youngsters whose previous experiences with their native Portuguese is such that they bring neither formerly acquired concepts nor native language development to the learning of English?

For these pre-literate students, many and diverse encounters with their surroundings must be provided and accompanied by language. The question again arises as to which language should be developed. Depending upon the goals of the oral language program one of three possibilities is evident:

1. Since the student is deficient in his native Portuguese, experiences should be provided in Portuguese, and then when he demonstrates a good command of Portuguese, he may begin a program of oral English.
2. Since the student shares rules from linguistic systems, two sets of language symbols may be provided, Portuguese and English. These language accompaniments may be offered in distinct and separate ways so that the child may develop a coordinate bilingual system.
3. Since the student doesn't really have a substantial background in Portuguese, begin a strong oral program in English without further attention to the native language.(22)

While the decision to emphasize the native language, both languages or only English will depend largely on the goals of the instructional program, it is the opinion of this writer that the first option provides the most educationally sound foundation upon which later subject area development will be built.

The readiness process for an illiterate student differs appreciably from that of the pre-literate youngster. The illiterate student, by virtue of his age, should already have mastered the reading process, but for any one of a number of reasons, has not. The teacher cannot discount the possibility of intellectual impairment and fragmented language and experiential referents. The cause of his illiteracy may, in fact, be insufficient schooling, lack of motivation or incompetent instruction. Often the child's experience with language has been to straddle the world of Portuguese and English and never master either sufficiently well to participate in a sustained instructional effort. It often follows that neither language can serve him well enough to assist in the learning process. No attempt has been made to develop either Portuguese or English fully, and these students may be acquiring both languages in bits and pieces. These students often appear in special remedial classes for lan-

guage and reading, and are generally considered retarded in their educational development. Their intellectual deficits often accrue from the fragmentation of both their experiences and their language.

The illiterate student provides a great challenge to the bilingual and E.S.L. teacher. His psychological profile often includes numerous encounters with failure and frustration, a great dislike for school and the reading process, both of which contributed to his failure and frustration, a disproportionate representation in the drop-out rate, and an anger and hostility difficult to overcome. He no longer trusts himself or anything connected with schools, he has lowered his opinion of his own worth and of his ability to ever achieve. Despite the fact that he may be bright, he considers himself inadequate and slow learning. He cannot read or write but often has had long and painful exposure to both. His vocabulary is poorly developed and marked by limited stocks of word meanings. The concepts he has acquired are few and often not clear. Though he may appear physically mature, there are often developmental lags in both his perceptual and visual motor skills. Yet he must develop the same pre-reading skills prescribed for the pre-literate child. The challenge arises in providing these in a way so as not to insult or further frustrate him.

The program which prepares the illiterate learner for reading in English must allow for his many limitations: experience, language, self-confidence and skill acquisition. It must begin at a point that will guarantee success and continue building upon each sequential step in the readiness process. Activities must be simple, but interesting and motivating. These include the use of pictures to generate oral language, (perhaps cars, sports, etc. for males, fashions, make-up, cooking, etc. for females. The writer is not in the habit of sex-stereotyping, however, sex roles and expectations are often more clearly delineated among the Portuguese and Portuguese immigrants than is traditionally thought true in the United States. This, of course, would never preclude presenting cars or sports as pictorial subjects for girls, or fashions for boys. The writer's experience, though, would dictate otherwise.) Reading interesting paragraphs and short stories aloud and creating question-answer situations, using records, tapes, language masters, filmstrips and other audio-visual materials to provide initial motivation, using a teaming approach to allow for discussions and showing of common problems or solutions, playing oral games with opposites, rhyming, verb endings, commands, etc., allowing students to construct sets for puppetry, perform plays and pantomines, make dictionaries, listen to records, memorize poems, learn songs, play bingo (or other teacher made games capitalizing on specific instructional points—i.e., alphabet, letter or cluster sounds, etc.). The list is limited only to the teachers'

imagination, time and willingness to experiment.

As with the pre-literate student, the question is again posed as to which of the pupil's two languages, although both admittedly inadequately controlled and available in severely limited forms, should be developed? Should native Portuguese skills be extended, refined and made the basis of literacy? Or should English be the sole vehicle for instruction? Why did the student fail to begin with, and how can we break the pattern? The answers are not always readily apparent. Is Portuguese the best means of instruction for the 15 year old ready to drop out of school in a year and spend the rest of his life in an English oriented world? What about the twelve year old who's never been to school or the ten year old who hates being Portuguese? Is it appropriate for the thirteen year old whose native language is Portuguese but whose school vocabularly is entirely English?

For the above examples, is it permissable to lose sight of the fact that as teachers we must nurture thinking abilities and language proficiencies in our reading programs? The link between speech and thought through word meaning is a combination that uses language and thinking processes because language is made up of words and thought is made up of meaning. Thought, or «the inner language», is merely speech «turned inward into thought.»(23) The interrelation between «outer language» or the use of vocal reproduction to express thoughts to others, and «inner language» is vital in making those important decisions for the maintenance and extension of the native language. While students are developing their skills in English, schools must meet the needs of the total student not just that part of him that needs to communicate orally, but that part, too, which needs to think and dream and aspire.

Readiness does not proceed in a vacuum and the astute educator should provide the balance to satisfy the needs of both inner and outer language development.

Readiness to read in English for the student literate in his native Portuguese is a very different learning task from those previously discussed. The literate learner already possesses decoding skills in his native language. He already has listening and comprehension skills. He brings an attitude of self-confidence born from previous experience with the reading process, to learning to read in English. He already knows that print represents speech and that there are symbols for certain speech sounds. The literate student already possesses many of the pre-reading skills prerequisite to success. Still, it may not be an easy matter for him to achieve literacy in English unless he approaches the print of English in much the same manner as he learned to control the print of his native Portuguese.

The literate student learned to listen, to understand and to speak Portuguese before he learned to read and to write it. He does not have to learn to read a second time. He already knows how to read. He must now learn to read another written system. Throughout this paper, the speech-print relationship has been delineated. The reading act has been characterized as a response to the visual symbol system. Written forms, however, must always be supported by oral forms, and nowhere is this more apparent than with the literate learner. This student needs a very strong oral language program so that he may begin making new sound-letter associations. He must begin supporting all written forms with concrete examples so as to form new word-meaning associations. Structural patterns and sound-symbol relationships have to be taught as do those English sounds or concepts for which there are no equivalents in Portuguese, or conflicting equivalents.

More than just factual information is needed in learning to read in a new language; there is a need to see the relationship between ideas, to understand figurative language, shades of meaning and emotions as well. One of the most difficult tasks arises in trying to master new sounds and structures which carry content and expression in English.

To fully understand the intricate second language learning process for the literate student, the concept of transfer of learning, or transfer of training needs to be examined. While the habits and skills developed by the second language learner in his vernacular may provide a great deal of assistance in dealing with English, they may also be of no use at all, or even serve to inhibit or interfere with his acquisition of English.

Whether knowledge of Portuguese reading provides positive, zero or negative transfer to the English reading system is both a function of the learner. If the new material to be learned is similar to that which the student already knows well, then recognition and use of the similarities to facilitate the learning of the new concept is desired. The fact that both English and Portuguese use the Roman alphabet is an area of potential transfer, as are the existence of similar sounds, cognates left to right organization of print, punctuation, etc. General abilities to learn can also be transferred. The literate pupil has learned how to learn, to listen, to understand, to organize, select, improve, articulate, etc. He has acquired attitudes about himself and his ability to learn. In short, he has many resources which he can apply to the reading process in English. «As language proficiency demands *overlearning* and habitual responses which have become automatic, positive transfer of one language learning to another *when tasks are similar* will very likely take

place.»(24)

The child who has learned to say «farmácia» has these same sounds stored and ready to use as he learns to say «pharmacy.» He may have difficulty placing the stress on the correct syllable because patterns of stress are so overlearned in the native language that they are unconsciously applied to the second language. Melody and rhythm is one of the last characteristics of a second language mastered. The intonation and stress patterns of Portuguese interfere with the correct application of these patterns in English. This example of negative transfer impedes the ability to acquire accurate meaning from English and has far-reaching implications for the second language teacher.

Zero transfer occurs when the first language neither interferes with nor enhances the learning of the second. The relationship of Chinese and Japanese writing to English is an obvious example.(25)

In order to best facilitate the reading process in English for the Portuguese student, knowledge of the sound system of both languages, analysis of the structural patterns of each, the vocabulary, stress, rhythm and intonations of both English and Portuguese would be an invaluable asset to the teacher. This analysis would clearly yield the areas of positive transfer, upon which the instructor could build new concepts and self-images, and the areas of negative transfer from which the instructor could develop contrastive exercise and additional practice situations.

BEGINNING READING METHODS

While there are dozens of methods commonly employed by teachers of beginning reading, none of these was devised with the second language learner in mind. As a consequence, each method had definite area of application to the E.S.L. student and definite drawbacks. It is the aim of this analysis to raise the level of awareness of the strengths and weaknesses of each reading method so that the instructor can adapt materials as well as teaching strategies to the instructional needs of the non-English speaker. Further, it is recommended that distinctions be continuously drawn between the needs of the pre-literate, the illiterate and the literate student in the E.S.L. classroom.

LANGUAGE EXPERIENCE

The language experience approach to the teaching of beginning reading has at its foundation the notion that what can be said can be written and read. This concept capitalizes on the experiences of individual learners and allows the natural development of language to precede the reading process. This approach further stimulates oral language growth by encouraging students to

relate experiences to the class. Reading activities are expanded as pupils are exposed to the recitations of their classmates and learn to read those as well. The teacher serves as a facilitator in this process by copying dictated stories and assisting in their decoding.(26)

Language Experience is a high-interest approach to reading. Students very much enjoy seeing their thoughts and utterances in print. This further serves as a strong motivating factor in learning to read and in the process, greatly elevates the importance of the individual learner and her ideas.

The underlying belief that the child's respect for his own thoughts is the key to successfully approaching the written thoughts of others has very real advantages for the illiterate learner. Recognizing that this student's greatest lack may be in those areas most encouraged by the Language Experience method makes it a sound program for consideration by the E.S.L. teacher. The integration of other language arts areas, namely spelling, grammar, writing, and art increases its attractiveness for the second language learner.

Language Experience for all its possible applications and adaptability to a variety of diverse student and teacher needs, has several serious weaknesses. Paramount among these is the incidental treatment afforded actual reading skill development. While astute teachers may build skill acquisition exercises into this reading method, it is casual and haphazard at best. Word recognition, phonic and structural analysis, comprehension, context clues, critical thinking and other specific skill areas are best taught in an organized, systematic manner.

Record-keeping presents another problem for the language experience teacher. In order for the method to be most successful, new pictures, stories, activities and other stimuli must be continually provided to insure new challenging experiences for the student. Vocabulary growth should be monitored, and expanded as specific skills are developed. This implies knowing each student's level of achievement and progress in each language arts area at any given time. The reality of the school day is that few teachers have the time, energy or inclination for such a comprehensive monitoring system.

Another reality of the language experience method is in the lack of control over vocabulary. Students learn to say words and their derivatives at a faster rate than they learn to read them. Words are also introduced once and never seen again. In terms of sound reading practices and developmental skill instruction, the lack of repetition, reinforcement and continuity present strong deterrents to the complete acceptance of Language Experience as a beginning reading approach for the second language learner.

LINGUISTICS

The emphasis in the linguistic approach to beginning reading is on decoding through the use of a rigidly controlled sound system. A linguistic method places early concentration on the names and sounds of letters and moves into combinations of these sounds in a prescribed manner so that the common features of the written language become visible early in the reading process.

Students are encouraged to learn patterns of words and structures and to use these patterns as models for unlocking new forms. Sound-symbol correspondences are stressed for their consistency and regularity. Word families are learned through drill with sentence patterns studied often without benefit of picture or context clues. Large sentences are built upon shorter learned ones, using the same patterns, but expanding them.

The structure consistencies and the minimalization of irregular word and sentence configurations make the linguistic method a comfortable and secure one for the second language learner. Incongruities between the student's oral language and its written form are treated in small meaningful experiences, with concepts introduced separately to avoid confusion and generalization of errors. The emphasis on pitch, stress, juncture and other features of oral language further improves the relationship between the spoken and written word while developing an overall sensitivity to the grammar of the second language.

Upon even cursory examination one of the more obvious shortcomings of traditional linguistic series becomes apparent. The format of the materials can be lifeless and dull. This can present a major drawback in motivating students of beginning reading, especially pre-literate youngsters who are very much attracted to color, design and illustration and illiterate students who are already turned off by the process. Concomitant with this, is the reduction in the training of how to use context clues. At a primary level, pictures often serve as the transitional shift between oral and graphic context clues. The absence of pictures would preclude this training.

While the *Merrill Linguistic Series* does deliberately produce drab materials in keeping with a philosophy that teaches a «response to printed language . . . that is automatic»(27) (i.e. with few distractions), later linguistic series such as the *Miami Linguistic Readers* (28) do contain some brightly colored illustrations. Both, however, share a common belief that the «selection of vocabulary for beginning materials be based on spelling patterns.»(29)

In practice, this means that beginning readers would be introduced to specific patterns, such as consonant–vowel–consonant–final e and sentences would include such words as «made,» «cute,» «like,» etc.. One of the important factors not considered here is «the criterion of usefulness––one that linguists still must attend too . . . the appearance of words like «the» and «what» in beginning materials. The other criteria of meaningfulness and interest could result in the selection of words like «play», «mother» and «ball.»(30)

Because of the restriction of vocabulary, comprehension and meaningful reading matter is often sacrificed for the regularity and control of the sound- symbol relationship. This is evident in the almost nonsensical nature of the following passage from the *Miami Linguistic Reader*: (31)

Rab Rabbit is running.
Rab is hunting Nat the Rat.

Pap Pig is running.
Pap is hunting Nat the Rat.

And Cab Cat is running.
Cab is hunting Nat the Rat.

The literate student, who very much needs the reinforcement of meaningful sentence patterns may become justifiably frustrated with the above statements.

«As he begins his reading . . . his formal educational experience––the child is occupied with a series of problems. In the most general sense he faces the problems of matching his speech to a set of written symbols and of associating ideas he already has with written symbols. Closely connected to the development of his skill in matching speech will be the matching of new concepts with vocabulary, and where vocabulary is «taught» of matching new concepts to both printed symbols and spoken sounds».(32) The continued repetition of low frequency words in linguistic reading may make this «matching» exercise a difficult one at best for the non-native speaker of English.

PHONICS

«Phonics instruction has one goal: to teach children how to figure out the pronunciation of unfamiliar words by using the relationship that exists

between phonemes and graphemes.»(33) The basis of a phonetic approach to beginning reading is the almost exclusive reliance on the correlation between sounds and their written symbols.

The isolation of individual sounds and their later recombination affords students the opportunity of breaking words down to their component sounds and providing a genuine feeling of security in attacking unknown words. Even the longest word can be dissected into disparate utterances, assigning specific sounds to specific configurations.

Most of the generalizations taught in phonics deal with letter-sounds relationships, rules for syllabication, and stress through the use of visual cues, «that is, they focus on single letters, letter combinations and the sequence with which they appear in words.»(34) Because phonics deals with both the visual and auditory features of words, the teacher should first point out the similarity among the visual stimuli *(see, sat, some)* and the likeness in the auditory reproduction of the initial consonant sound«s».

For Portuguese speakers, the existence of correspondents in their own language for the majority of consonant and consonant blend sounds in English is high. This affords numerous opportunities for positive transfer with the literate student. Those phonetic areas of interference, notably long vowel sounds, diphthongs and syllabication and accent cues can be mastered through a program of contrastive analysis, minimal pairing and continued repetition.

The strength of the phonics method of beginning reading lies in its concrete and secure assignation of specific sounds for every letter in the alphabet and the painstaking disassembly of the whole into its component parts. It can also be employed using any available material, provided the teacher has a firm understanding of the method.

The productivity of the phonic method, however, is severely limited by the irregularities of English spelling. Because of the consistent mismatch between spelling and pronunciations, phonic rules don't apply almost as often as they do. George Bernard Shaw's facetious albeit revealing observation that «ghoti» could spell «fish» if one took the «gh» sound from a word such as «enough», the «o» sound from «women» and the «ti» from «nation» dramatically illustrates the point.

The painstaking reconstruction of words from their discrete sounds provides another obstacle for the second language learner. The sounds resulting from this process represent an unnatural form of speech, never heard by the foreign speaking student outside the reading circle. This leads to confusion often marked by the inability to re-assemble the parts into a meaningful whole. The result is all too often students adept at repeating the «t», «i» and

«p» sounds but never being able to reconstruct the word «tip.»

«Since phonics does not offer help with meanings, it is productive only with words already known in their spoken form».(35) This obvious limitation for the second language learner places definite restrictions on the appropriateness of phonics as the sole approach to beginning reading. «If the word that is unfamiliar in printed form is also unfamiliar in spoken form the reader who can sound it out will not understand the word any better than the reader who cannot sound it.»(36)

THE BASAL READER

The basal reader or basic reading program is an instructional approach which presents the skills of reading in an orderly, sequential manner. Materials are designed to take the learner from the known to the unknown by introducing, maintaining and reviewing those requisite skills needed from the earliest level of instruction to independent reading. Readers graded according to difficulty, workbooks, teachers' guides, supplementary tests, games, worksheets, charts, etc. often accompany the series through all available levels, K-6.

«Probably the most valuable feature of the basal reader approach is the excellence of the teachers' guides which accompany most of the basic programs. These guides outline in great detail each day's lesson, its preparation, and presentation.»(37) The guides provide numerous practical suggestions for teaching each reading skill to individual students and in dealing with special problems associated with slow, fast or «average» learners.

Following the basal reader alleviates the worry associated with imprecise planning. The time spent in arranging and organizing the materials is so minimal that the teacher is free to put energy into other needed projects. There are so many activities designed to teach a specific skill, that the teacher need only select the lesson and present it, without fear that the student is missing a vital step in the developmental process. If the basal is used as the beginning reading program, there is no question that every relevant skill known to the reading process is touched on and systematically developed.

While there is no question that every lesson is given a complete work up and that the resources of many experienced professionals are brought to the instructor in the teachers' guide, there is a definite price to pay. This is not meant in the literal sense, for basal readers are not expensive in terms of their life span of 5–7 years. The price is in the content, the approach and the loss of classroom creativity.

The common complaint raised against the use of the basal for second

language learners is its obvious design for native speakers. No attention is paid to the introduction of new vocabulary, outside its relevance to the developmental reading process. This is not always compatible with the introduction of vocabulary for oral language development. Consequently, one finds the common use of past, present, present progressive and future tenses in a first grade reader. Complex sentence structures abound, as do embedded clauses, figurative language, indirect discourse, etc. Any one of these concepts can present a major stumbling block to the pre-literate and illiterate learner. It is clearly impossible to teach all these concepts orally before the introduction of beginning reading and it would be equally improper to introduce them during the initial reading stage.

Another disadvantage of reliance on a total basic program is the teacher's reluctance to deviate from the teacher's guide. The same teacher's guide that provides countless hours of diverse lesson plans also strips a teacher of creativity in approaching the needs of specific students. Fear that the child will «miss out» on an important skill locks the teachers into a pattern of teaching every concept to every child, whether he knows it, needs it or is ready for it. Because the experts say it's good, it becomes gospel!

Publishers of the basal have further been taken to task over the limited content and literary quality of the stories presented. Stories often reflect middle class, sexist and culturally biased attitudes. While newer series are attempting to introduce an occasional Maria and Manuel into the story line, it will be a long time before we see a João or a Dr. Albertina Medeiros, and an even longer time before the readings will reflect an existence relevant to the second language learner.

INDIVIDUALIZED READING

Nothing has appealed more to teachers, in theory, or eluded them more in practice, than the concept of individualized instruction. Since studies by Dolch,(38) Isaacs,(39) Lazar,(40) Smith,(41) and Veatch(42) began expounding the virtues of tailoring instruction to the needs of the individual child no bona fide teacher could credibly discount the advantages of this method in showing real progress.

«As an introductory reading method, individualized reading assumes that pupils are capable of selecting their own reading materials; that they know their own needs and will pace themselves accordingly; and that their inner interests in reading will be enhanced by the wider range of available books.»(43) Both the teacher and the student keep records of reading growth, and individual skill needs can be combined in small ad hoc groups.

Through this method the learner becomes an active partner in the instructional process. While individualized programs differ, they all incorporate features of pupil selection, pacing and self-direction. Stories are exciting and motivating, because they deal with subjects of interest to the specific learner. As reports of accomplished reading are made, other language skills are practiced—writing, spelling, speaking, summarizing, critical reviewing, interpreting, analyzing, etc.. Each child establishes a pace suited to him and free of competitive pressures.

The advantages of this method particularly for the illiterate student are dramatic. The stigma of failure, boring materials and tiresome reading groups is removed from the learning process. A special rapport is established between the student and instructor—a sharing of experiences and trust—that no basal approach could ever provide.

The major stumbling block to universal acceptance of individualized reading as the most effective total reading method is the enormous amount of paper work that must accompany the efficient handling of this approach. Each pupil's progress must be charted, his concept and vocabulary growth must be checked, his reading selections listed, his interests and attitudes noted, his skill development monitored, and his ability to work independently checked. While some pupils may thrive in an individualized setting—selecting broad samplings of available materials, others have difficulty determining and sustaining long term interests.

The necessity for having varied materials available is another realistic drawback. Finding numerous beginning level readers with specific themes is rare as are librarians willing to assist in the process. Consequently, teachers must often trudge back and forth to the library to insure that materials are available when needed. The teacher must further be able to appraise reading levels in non-academic materials and insure that a developmental program will grow from the seemingly haphazard selection of materials.

For the non-English speaker, a further difficulty is presented with individualized reading. Because of the continued need to increase and improve oral language skills, and to keep comprehension levels commensurate with recognition of English words as written, independent reading may be covering a multitude of misconceptions. Meaning must be continually attached to words if oral and written experiences are to become mutually supportive.

Individualized reading sets no vocabulary or structure control on printed matter. Specialized or idiomatic meanings can be easily misunderstood or ignored. Oral reading is essential so that pronunciation, expression, and comprehension can be periodically checked. The second language teacher

may find the numerous tasks involved with the individualized process too cumbersome to juggle.

I.T.A.

The first time a colleague of mine saw «the tael ov peeter rabbit»,(44) he said it was a sample of «Old English» writing. His assessment is not uncommon among those unfamiliar with the concept of the Initial Teaching Alphabet (i.t.a.). Based on the premise that English can best be phonologically reduced to its component sounds through use of the 44 letter phonetic alphabet, the proponents of i.t.a. have proceeded to introduce reading through this method.

Gone are the ough nightmares—replaced by *uf* or *ew*. Gone, too, are the variety of pronunciations associated with *ow, ome* or *ou* spellings. The list of spelling irregularities in English is endless and the practical solution has been stabilization of the process achieved by providing a 1:1 sound-letter correspondence.

Research done by Downing,(45) Harrison,(46) Huck,(47) Kirkland(48) all attest to the efficacy of i.t.a. for developing a simplified version of a potentially frustrating experience.

Failure is rare among i.t.a. students. Second language learners are exposed to a highly regular consistent graphology, with a greater relationship to their native Portuguese than traditional English spelling allows. Proponents of i.t.a. further contend that if all languages were taught that way, transfer of training among languages would be greatly facilitated. They additionally argue and provide supportive evidence, that the transition from i.t.a. to traditional reading texts provides no source of confusion for the student.

I.T.A. however does present problems for the Portuguese student in the English classroom. Learning, in effect, a third graphic system can be extremely confusing, for literate students who already know the Portuguese graphic system and for illiterate students who might once again experience failure making the transition to traditional English and even for pre-literate students whose grasp of English might be tenuous to begin with.

Finding appropriate supplementary material is another major problem area for i.t.a. instructors. Very few materials are printed in i.t.a., so that extending the learning experience beyond the basic textbook becomes a serious consideration in adopting the series. Because i.t.a. does not extend beyond the second grade reading level, the transition must be achieved at that time. Students unable to do so at that point, have no other materials to

reinforce previous learning and possibly lose out during the transitional process.

The Portuguese speaking community, as with other immigrant populations is a mobile one. It is not uncommon for as many as 20 percent of initial Portuguese enrollees to transfer out of the class, school district or city within a school year. If this occurs before the student has completed the requisite two year i.t.a. program, then progress will almost automatically be impaired. The chances are that the new teacher who will now be working with the student has little or no familiarity with i.t.a. hence no expertise in making the reading transfer. Further, the student would have missed that much time in the traditional series, so would already be academically behind his new peer group.

OTHER BEGINNING READING METHODS

While other reading methods such as «Programmed Instruction,» «Words in Color,» «Look-Say,» «The Talking Typewriter», etc. are employed with various degrees of success, none is widely used with either native speakers or second language readers or is seriously considered to be one of the major approaches to beginning reading.

The inevitable conclusion to be drawn from this brief analysis of beginning reading methods for the second language learner is obvious. There is no one method that satisfies the myriad demands placed on the learning process by the pre-literate, illiterate and literate non-English speaker. It behooves the perceptive teacher to extract those relevant principles and techniques from any beginning reading system and apply them to specific learning situations as needed.

Purism is a luxury that few second language instructors can afford. The sensible adaptation of any and all available materials and methodologies is the mark of a truly creative teacher, for each classroom setting should reflect an integration of resources unique to that learning situation.

There is no one right method of beginning reading, just as there are no approaches that are all wrong. It becomes vital to acquaint professionals with the variety of options available, discuss the pros and cons of each and alert them to the needs of individual learners. In this way the best of each method can be applied at the appropriate time. Knowing the learning styles and needs of each pupil and being aware of the strengths and limitations of various instructional media, becomes, in the long run, the greatest boon to the second language teacher.

SETTING THE STAGE

One of the more difficult notions to dispel from the teacher's mind is

the urgency she feels in placing students into a reading program. If a course in teaching reading to second language learners does nothing else, it should convey the message that reading instruction should proceed only when listening and speaking skills have been mastered. Despite pressures from principals, parents and peers, the E.S.L.-bilingual teacher can be made to realize that the reading process is not advanced one day by prematurely beginning students in a formalized program. Reading achievement does not depend on the haste with which it is begun, but rather on the readiness of the student to begin. If the child is not ready, he will not perform or will appear to be progressing when in actuality he has memorized just enough concepts to get by the beginning reading levels. As material becomes more advanced and vocabulary less controlled (by the 3rd or 4th grade reading level) the student who has not been allowed to develop a sound language and readiness foundation will begin to flounder. All too often we find junior and senior high school second language students whose reading mastery has never advanced beyond the 4th grade level.

It is essential to make the classroom a realistic learning experience for teachers, while impressing them with the importance of doing likewise with their own students. Lecturing teachers on how not to lecture their own classes strikes me as a bit absurd. Turning the classroom into a laboratory for the practical application of theory is vital if successful transference to real situations is sought.

It is not sufficient to discuss the adaptation of materials for non-English speakers, teachers must actually adapt them to fully understand the process. Likewise, trial lessons employing techniques for teaching listening or speaking skills should be developed and tried in class.

There are no simple solutions to the complex issues posed in this paper. It is necessary, however, to raise the consciousness of all those concerned with the education of non-English speakers so that they are aware that the problem, in fact exists. It is only through continuous dialogue, trial and error, and the sincere efforts of dedicated teachers that solutions to problems affecting individual learners will be found. In the long run, we'll all be richer for the effort.

Notes

(1) Guy L. Bond and Miles A. Tinker, *Reading Difficulties: Their Diagnosis and Correction*, (New York: Meredith Publishing Company, 1967), p. 5.

(2) Emmett A. Betts, *Foundations of Reading Instruction*, (New York: American Book, 1957).

(3) Morton Botel, *How to Teach Reading*, (Chicago: Follett Publishing Company, 1962).

(4) Jeanne S. Chall, *Learning to Read: The Great Debate*, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1967).

(5) E. W. Dolch, *Teaching Primary Reading*, Second Edition, (Champaign, Illinois: Garrard, 1950).

(6) Donald Durrell, *Improving Reading Instruction*, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1956).

(7) Charles C. Fries, *The Structures of English*, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1952).

(8) Harris, *How to Increase Reading Ability*, Fourth Edition, (New York: Longmans, 1961).

(9) P. Witty, *Reading in Modern Education*, (Boston: Heath, 1949).

(10) Wallace E. Lambert and Elizabeth Peal, «The Relation of Bilingualism to Intelligence», *Psychological Monographs, General and Applied*. Vol. 76, No. 27, Whole No. 546, 1962.

(11) Ruth H. Mattila, «As I see Spanish-Speaking Students», *The Reading Teacher*, Vol. 29, No. 6, March 1976, pp. 605-608.

(12) Thomas F. McDonald, «A Basic Communication Project for Migrant Children», *The Reading Teacher*, 1970.

(13) Nancy Modiano, «National or Mother Language in Beginning Reading, A Comparative Study» Research in the Teaching of English 1:32-43, 1968.

(14) Robert L. Politzer, *Foreign Language Learning: A Linguistic Introduction*, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1965).

(15) Elsie Wolk, «Reading Disabilities of Children Learning English as a Second Language» *Elementary English*, March, 1972.

(16) Heidi C. Dulay and Marina K. Burt, «Natural Sequences in Child Second Language Acquisition», *Language Learning*, Vol. 24, No. 1, 1974.

(17) Joan T. Feeley, «Teaching non-English First Graders to Read Elementary English», February, 1970.

(18) Eileen Hansen, «Reading in the Bilingual Classroom: Three Philosophies», *Mosaic*, Vol. 2, No. 9-10, May-June, 1976.

(19) Neal Justin, «Mexican American Reading Habits and Their Cultural Base», *Journal of Reading*, Vol. 16. No. 6, March 1973, pp. 467-473.

(20) Miller and Johnson, «What We've Learned About Teaching Reading to Navajo Indians», *The Reading Teacher*, Vol. 27, No. 6, March, 1974.

(21) Eleanor Thonis, *Teaching Reading to Non-English Speakers*, (Collier-Macmillan, International, 1970) p. 105.

(22) J. Montoya, *et.al.*, «A Case for Bilingualism» *Instructor*, February, 1975, pp. 50-55.

(23) L. S. Vygotsky, *Thought and Language*, (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1962).

(24) Thonis, op cit p. 118.

(25) Richard A. Earle, An-Yan Tang Wand, «Cultural Constraints in Teaching Chinese Students to Read» *The Reading Teacher*, Vol. 25 No. 7, April, 1974.

(26) Ricardo Garcia, «Mexican Americans Learn Through Language Experience» *The Reading Teacher*, Vol. 28, No. 3, December, 1974.

(27) Otto Smith and Rudolph Wilson, *The I Can Merrill Linguistic Reading Program*, Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company.

(28) Ralph Robinett, *Editor, Miami Linguistic Readers*, (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1967).

(29) Dolores Durkin, *Phonics, Linguistics, and Reading*, (New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1972), p. 17.

(30) Ibid, p. 18

(31) Ralph E. Robinett, Paul W. Bell and Pauline M. Rojas, *The Sack Hut*, Miami Linguistic Reader (Lexington, Mass: D. C. Heath and Company, 1970).

(32) David W. Reed, Jesse O. Sawyer, *Linguistic Considerations in Reading Disability in Language and Reading: An Interdisciplinary Approach*, Compiled by Doris V. Gunderson (Washington, D. C.: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1970).

(33) Durkin, op cit p. 29.

(34) Ibid., p.30.

(35) Ibid., p. 29.

(36) Roger Brown, *Words and Things*, (New York: The Free Press, 1958) p. 69.

(37) Thonis, op cit p. 53.

(38) E. Dolch, *Individualized vs. Group Reading*, free booklet, (Champaign, Ill.: Garrard Press, 1962).

(39) Alice Isaacs, «Individualizing Reading Instruction» *The Education Journal*, 1 (1958) pp. 13-14.

(40) May Lazar, «Individualizing Reading: A Dynamic Approach» *The Reading Teacher*, 11 (1957) pp. 84-90.

(41) Nila Banton Smith, *Reading Instruction for Today's Children* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1963).

(42) Jeanette Veatch, *Individualizing Your Reading Program* (New York: G. P. Putnam and Sons, 1959).

(43) Thonis, op cit, p. 54.

(44) Beatrix Potter, *The tael ov peeter rabbit*, (New York: Frederick Warne and Compeny, Ltd., 1968).

(45) John Downing, «Recent Developments in I.T.A.» *California English Journal*, 3:64-74 Fall, 1967.

(46) Maurice Harrison, *The Story of the Initial Teaching Alphabet*, (New York: Pitman Publishing Company, 1964).

(47) Charlotte S. Huck, «Changing Character of Basic Reading Material» *Educational Leadership*, 22:377-381 March, 1965.

(48) Bautista Kirkland, «I.T.A. as a Tool for Preventing Cumulative Language Deficit in Disadvantaged Children» *Better Reading in Urban Schools*, Indiana University Northwest, pp. 34-44, 1971.

Bibliography

Betts, Emmett A. 1957. *Foundation of Reading Instruction*. American Book, New York.

Bond, Guy L. and Tinker, Miles A. 1967. *Reading Difficulties: Their Diagnosis and Correction*. Meredith Publishing Company, New York.

Botel, Morton. 1962. *How to Teach Reading*. Follett Publishing Company, Chicago.

Brown, Roger. 1958. *Words and Things*. The Free Press, New York.

Chall, Jeanne S. 1967. *Learning to Read: The Great Debate*. McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York.

Clymer, Theodore and Ruddell, Robert. 1969. *All Sorts of Things*. Teachers Edition, Lynn and Company, Boston, Mass.

Dolch, E. W. 1950. *Teaching Primary Reading*. Second Edition. Garrard, Champaign, Ill.

Downing, John. «Recent Developments in I.T.A.» *California English Journal*. 3:64-74, Fall 1967.

Dulay, Heidi C. and Burt, Marina, K. «Natural Sequence in Child Second Language Acquisition» *Language Learning*, Vol. 24, No. 1, 1974.

Durkin, Dolores. 1972. *Phonics, Linguistics and Reading*, Teachers College Press, Columbia University, New York.

Durrell, Donald. 1956. *Improving Reading Instruction*, Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., New York.

Earle, Richard A. and An-Yan Tang Wand, «Cultural Constraints in Teaching Chinese Students to Read» *The Reading Teacher*, Vol. 25, No. 7, April, 1974.

Feeley, Joan, T. «Teaching non-English First Graders To Read» *Elementary English*, February, 1970.

Fries, Charles, C. 1952. *The Structures of English*, Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., New York.

Garcia, Ricardo. «Mexican Americans Learn Through Language Experience» *The Reading Teacher*, Vol. 28, No. 3, December, 1974.

Hansen, Eileen. «Reading in the Bilingual Classroom: Three Philosophies» *Mosaic*, Vol. 2, No. 9-10, May-June, 1976.

Harris, Roger. 1961. *How to Increase Reading Ability*, Fourth Edition, Longmans, New York.

Harrison, Maurice. 1964. *The Story of the Initial Teaching Alphabet* Pitman Publishing Company, New York.

Huck, Charlotte S. «Changing Character of Basic Reading Material» *Educational Leadership*, 2:377-381 March, 1965.

Isaacs, Alice. «Individualizing Reading Instructions» *The Education Journal*, Vol. 1, 1958.

Justin, Neal. «Mexican American Reading Habits and Their Cultural Base» *Journal of Reading*, Vol. 16, No. 6, March, 1973.

Kirkland, Bautista. «I.T.A. as a Tool For Preventing Cumulative Language Deficit in Disadvantaged Children» *Better Reading in Urban Schools*, University Northwest, Indiana.

Lambert, Wallace E. and Peal, Elizabeth. «The Relation of Bilingualism to Intelligence» *Psychological Monographs, General and Applied*, Vol. 76. No. 27.

Lazar, May. «Individualizing Reading: A Dynamic Approach» *The Reading Teacher*, 11. 1957.

Mattila, Ruth H. «As I See Spanish-Speaking Students» *The Reading Teacher*, Vol. 29, No. 6, March, 1976.

McDonald, Thomas F. «A Basic Communication Project for Migrant Children» *The Reading Teacher*, October, 1970.

Miller and Johnson, «What We've Learned About Teaching Reading to Navajo Indians» *The Reading Teacher*, Vol. 27. No. 6, March, 1974.

Modiano, Nancy. «National or Mother Language in Beginning Reading, A Comparative Study» *Research in the Teaching of English*, Vol. 1, 1968.

Montoya, J. *et. al.*, «A Case for Bilingualism» *Instructor*, February, 1975.

Politzer, Robert L. 1965. *Foreign Language Learning: A Linguistic Introduction*, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey.

Reed, David W. and Sawyer, Jesse O. 1970. *Linguistic Considerations in Reading Disability in Language and Reading: An Interdisciplinary Approach*, Compiled by Doris V. Gunderson, Center for Applied Linguistics, Washington, D.C.

Robinett, Ralph (Editor). 1967. *Miami Linguistics Readers*, D.C. Heath and Company, Boston.

Smith, Nila Banton. 1963. *Reading Instruction for Today's Children*, Prentice-Hall Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey.

Smith, Otto and Wilson, Rudolph. 1972. *The I Can Merrill Linguistic Reading Program*, Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company.

Thonis, Eleanor Wall. 1970. *Teaching Reading to Non-English Speakers*, Collier-Macmillan International, London.

Veatch, Jeannette. 1959. *Individualizing Your Reading Program*, G. P. Putnam and Sons, New York.

Vygotsky, L. D. 1962. *Thought and Language*, MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass.

Potter, Beatrix. 1968. *The Tael ov Peeter Rabbit*, Frederick Warne and Company, Ltd., New York.

Witty, Paul. 1949. *Reading in Modern Education*, Heath, Boston.

Wolk, Elsie. March, 1972. «Reading Disabilities of Children Learning English as a Second Lan[illegible]ge», elementary English.

-----1962. *Individualized vs. Group Reading*, free booklet, Garrard, Champaign, Ill.

Developing Authentic English as a Second Language — Teaching Strategies for the Linguistic Needs of Portuguese Native Language Students

Robert C. Parker
University of Rhode Island

Rudimentary experience in the second language classroom convinces an instructor that specific limited English speakers have particular difficulties in hearing and duplicating specific sound, syntactical and morphological structures endemic to English speech. The students' native language appears to filter out the sound and sentence patterns of the second language that do not correspond or are not similar to sounds and patterns in their first language. Although recently published English as a Second Language texts appear to be well organized around specific phonological, syntactical, and cultural items necessary to the successful acquisition of English by the non and limited English speaker, these texts rarely provide teaching and learning activities that meet the linguistic needs of speakers of specific native languages.

However, the enterprising second language instructor can easily find sources that identify linguistic conflicts between the English language and many of the «major» languages spoken by immigrants to the United States. Some ESL pedagogical texts (1) even provide a variety of techniques or lessons for providing structural contrastive activities to supplement textbooks. It is somewhat more difficult to find structural contrastive information about Portuguese and the languages spoken by the smaller countries of the world. Interested teachers are advised to develop their own methods of determining sound, word order, and grammatical conflicts between the language of the targeted students and English. (Appendix A lists a few Portuguese-English items.)

ESL strategies for teaching automatic aural-oral skills have for the past decade stressed drill and pattern practice as the best method for developing habitual idiomatic English communication skills. Minimum pairing, dialogues, pattern drills in lessons themed around expressions relevant to the students' cultural needs have been widely accepted as a sound way for

teaching and practicing both specific linguistic conflicts as well as the basic lexicon and grammatical items necessary for authentic, semantically correct communication in English.

However, empirical experience has proven to me that such drills can be tedious, negative experiences for teacher and student alike. Too often the patterns are mimicked without real comprehension; provided within activities or themes that are not commensurate with the student's age, social needs or long-range goals; and, unrelated to the teaching aim of developing the production of authentic, semantically correct utterances in settings or situations that are real to the student. Also, students' and teachers' needs soon go beyond audio-lingual learning/teaching materials, especially at the junior and senior high levels where the academic pressures to read in English and function in the English-language content area classroom are realized sooner.

Informal observation in the ESL classroom and in the Luso-American community has also taught me that the language learning process is facilitated by the necessity to communicate in English in situations that are economically, socially or academically important to the learner. A positive survival or «crisis» situation appears to be motivating the learner. Such a situation was very apparent in my classroom when ESL students were provided learning and practice activities and materials specially designed to teach subject area content and skill in ESL settings. The accumulation of English listening, speaking, reading and writing skills developed much quicker than within the isolated ESL instructional procedures that were limited to only the audio-lingual approach. (2)

These observations soon led to my severely limiting the reliance on traditional ESL texts and drill techniques, and to the development of a sequence of activities and «authentic texts» (3) that represent current ESL theory and methodology but also promote both integrative and discreet sound and pattern competencies within a setting that provokes the real use of the second language. Consequently, these «authentic» texts and learning settings can be defined as teaching and learning activities that are based on a sequence of ESL phonological, syntactical, morphological, semantic and cultural learning objectives but also record the natural interactions of instructor and students as they study the production and reception of English.

The following outline, with explications, is a sequence of teacher and student activities that demonstrate how ESL teachers can develop authentic teaching / learning lessons and texts that will instruct the target students according to any ESL curriculum objectives. Teachers need

only stress the phonological, syntactical and morphological items that cause interference for speakers of a specific language. Examples in this article are chosen from conflict and negative transference problems Portuguese students have in learning English. (5)

The aim of these strategies is to aid ESL students to become increasingly more proficient in hearing and speaking English as well as promote progressively more sophisticated English reading (6) and writing communication skills. However, for the following suggestions to be successful, and since this technique for teaching limited English students is founded on the educational theory that learning is facilitated by developing the unknown out of what is already known, students would need to have mastered the basic aural-oral items taught the non-English speaking student, *i.e.*, students need to recognize and use with relative ease the basic linguistic structures of English. The «spiral approach» of Finocchiaro has also influenced these strategies, and is apparent in a stress upon continuous review and reapplication in a variety of settings and media. The sequence of activities, finally, include many accepted second language techniques for modeling and drilling the linguistic features of English. Thus, I am not advocating the deletion of accepted ESL techniques but the integration of them into learning situations that are viable and relevant to the experience and social needs of target students.

1. The instructor's first task is to determine what ESL curriculum objectives he she wishes the target students to learn. The various categories of the curriculum should be studied to determine which items for each category go naturally with each other. That is, items from the categories of English phonology, sentence word patterns, morphology, semantics/idioms and vocabulary, both function and content, should be compared and organized to be taught together when feasible. For example, Portuguese students often have difficulty in hearing and duplicating three sounds for *s* in English: /s/, /z/ and /ɪz/. Modeling and practice could be provided during the study of the present tense and or irregular English verbs. A natural theme around which such lessons could be centered would be to study the mailing and post office system. This theme could easily provide activities to generate original utterances and written sentences that would reinforce both targeted sound and sentence pattern(s) as well as provide development in content vocabulary. The learning activity would be a real one since students could easily apply their knowledge at a community post office.

Often, I find it easier to make up a list of themes or cultural experiences that will be the most useful to the target students before I determine the se-

quence of lessons necessary to teach a particular language skill. Some knowledge of immediate and long-range goals of the students is necessary to produce a viable list but the age of the students and the economic and cultural goals of the language community will aid such decisions. Once my list is completed, I sequence the language components starting with curriculum objectives I am sure students will have orally mastered and place the new learning experiences in later lessons.

2. Most language skills have requisite or sub-skills that must be mastered first. The ESL instructor should next perform a task analysis on all the chosen linguistic items for determining how many units and lessons within units will be required to teach the terminal objective and its requisite subobjectives.(7)
3. The next task is to plan the integration of any learning or study skills into the units or lessons. Since students, no matter their age or goals, can profit from some general study and research skills as well as the cognitive domain skills of knowledge, comprehension and application, activities to teach and develop such skills should be included in each unit of instruction. Each unit's lessons can then be the medium for teaching and reinforcing the skill being stressed in the unit.
4. In class, *orally* introduce the subject or theme of the unit or lesson.
    a. Ask pre-arranged questions concerning the subject to determine what the students already know about the subject.
    b. Show pictures or some other audio-visual medium and lead students to comment on or tell a personal experience related to the subject. The aim here is to encourage the students to express themselves in an unthreatening setting. Unless utterances or concepts are so inaccurately expressed, the teacher should refrain from correcting students' verbalizations. This activity should also form a basis of shared knowledge on which the language lesson will be based.
5. Once the teacher is sure that *all* students understand what the theme or subject of the lesson will be, he/she can write on the chalkboard the content vocabulary that will be stressed in the lesson. These words are modeled as discreet words as well as included in stated example sentences with students using the words aurally and orally before they read or write the words.
    a. Students copy the words into their notebooks.
    b. Students orally practice using the words in two or three sentence patterns that will promote ease of expression as well as help them develop semantic control. (These sentences should relate to the lesson theme.)
    c. To reinforce skill or provide drill, minimum pairing and sentence pattern drill can be utilized at this stage.

d. The teacher writes some of the orally practiced sentences on the chalkboard.
e. The students take turns reading the sentences, in both group and individual recitation.
f. The students copy the model sentences into their notebooks.
g. Students might be required to study by self-drill these sentences that are copied in their notebooks. The next meeting could begin with a review of the vocabulary and sentences to be followed by dictation practice based on the vocabulary and sentences.

6. For the next class meeting it is suggested that students be assigned a dictionary skill activity. More proficient or mature students might be assigned such an activity as homework. However, less aurally-orally proficient students should partake of an in-class activity that provokes lots of listening and speaking. For them the dictionary usage might be implemented in small or medium group settings with an emphasis on oral instructions, reading and discussion.
   a. All directions for the dictionary activities must be given orally during the early units of instruction. As the students' reading skills develop, lists of assignment sheets or chalkboard notices can be used. However, since the aim is to promote listening comprehension as well as authentic speaking, reading and writing skills, I have found that orally giving classroom and homework assignments with a minimum of written information does develop good listening skills. It also promotes the taking of accurate notes and assignments. This, of course, means the teacher must verify that *all* students understand the assignments.
   b. If students are unacquainted with basic dictionary usage, then early unit lessons might be devoted to teaching them the essential skills of initial alphabetizing, internal alphabetizing, syllabication, interpretation of stress marks and pronunciation keys, and multiple meanings.
   c. If students are fairly well versed in dictionary usage, their skills should be reinforced and expanded to the more sophisticated abilities of interpreting parts of speech symbols, choosing the correct meaning based on sentence or paragraph context, or correctly using the many charts, glossaries and gazetteers included in dictionaries.
   d. No matter what their experiences with dictionaries, when students leave your classroom, they should be able to find vocabulary and spelling words in a dictionary and choose the definition that matches their particular assignment or practice work.

   Thus, for each lesson in a unit, students will:

   1. look up the lesson's content vocabulary and copy the correct defini-

tion in their notebooks:

2. memorize the spelling and meaning for each word;
3. quiz each other in small groups or in a peer-tutoring/partner setting until pre-determined criteria have been met;
   Each student should be assigned a realistic criterion for achievement. Although 100 percent accuracy can be desired it is not always attainable. Once, however, the individual criterion is met, the student is ready to move on to the next activity or could help a student who has not reached his/her criterion to do so.
4. reconvene as a group to be quizzed by the instructor orally and/or in written form by dictation. Word games based on related domains designed to develop lexicon and categorizing knowledge are a good alternative to dictation quizzes.

7. A natural extension of the spelling and dictionary activities would be a reinforcement activity based on the content vocabulary assigned. This is a receptive not productive activity that aims to help students transfer their knowledge of specific words to a new setting.
   a. Mimeographed activities based on the assigned content vocabulary are developed and distributed to students. They are completed orally with the teacher and students taking turns reading.(8) The activities can be fill-ins, sentence completion chosen from a list of applicable sentence endings, or matching. It is probably wise to change the design for each of the early units so students get used to taking a specific type of «objective» examination. Later units can use all the designs previously experienced.
      Another suggestion is to develop these activities based on the theme as well as the original sentences orally generated by the teacher and the students during step no. 5.
   b. New sets of mimeographed sheets are distributed and students in small groups or with a partner complete them quietly. More advanced students can complete them silently. The new set of activities follow the same format/design as those completed orally but with new sentences.
   c. The new sets are orally corrected with the teacher writing the answers on the chalkboard or overhead. The students correct their own papers. Often, if the teacher feels a need to monitor the progress of the class, these new activities can be collected and corrected as a quiz or mastery check. Each lesson in a unit could use different types of monitoring devices that develop the targeted language skills but also diagnose student needs.
   d. Matching word games based on the target sentence pattern(s) will pro-

vide another reinforcement activity.

8. Now that students are familiar with the vocabulary and theme of the lesson, the next step is to develop productive and receptive activities that will promote reading skills in the second language.
   a. Bring students together and ask them to generate an original story or essay based on the theme and its content vocabulary. As each student takes turns adding a sentence, the instructor should help the students clarify what they are trying to say but keep the sentences within the grammatical pattern being taught as well as within the scope of the language experiences previously mastered by the group. Usually, however, the students will be orally limited to the patterns learned in preceding speaking, reading and writing work. The length and depth of detail will be determined by the age and language proficiency of the students. Usually, two or three well constructed short paragraphs will suffice with intermediate level students; one paragraph for younger and less skilled pupils. Also, the length of the story or essay can be spread out over the lessons of any particular unit; or, a new paragraph can be added daily as the lesson evolves over a series of meetings.
   b. Students copy the paragraph(s) into their notebook. The copying of vocabulary, definitions, sentences, and paragraphs can be expanded to penmanship lessons if you wish.
   c. Students in groups or individually can orally read the sentences in the paragraph.
   d. The teacher can ask listening comprehension questions about the generated paragraph(s) to determine
      (I) literal comprehension (details and sequence)
      (II) inferential comprehension (main idea, contextual meaning of new vocabulary, infer from evidence).

      There should be minimal use of written material and a stress upon oral discussion and verbal verification of questions asked.
   e. The following meeting of the class should begin with an oral review of the previous day's paragraph(s). Once again questions can be similar (or the same) as the listening comprehension questions asked at the completion of the previous day's activities.
   f. Mimeographed reading comprehension questions can be then distributed to be completed orally or silently. Again they can be used as a mastery check or monitoring quiz.
9. Using the paragraph(s) as examples, the teacher can expand this lesson to include the development of writing skills. Through imitation and ob-

served analysis, the student will be led to composing, in written form, a variety of sentences reflecting previously and presently-learned patterns and syntax plus the refinement of the patterns and syntax under study in the lesson.

a. On an overhead copy or on a written copy on the chalkboard the teacher expands the story essay by adding details, or rearranges sentence parts to clarify meaning. The teacher in simple terms explains why the changes are being made. Older students probably can be given brief grammatical or structural explanations.
   1. Once the changes have been made, the students generate two or three sentences of their own, based on provided vocabulary.
   2. With the assistance of the teacher and fellow students they make stylistic revisions as the teacher had in the demonstration. Some of the changes might be to
      (I) alter meaning with synonyms,
      (II) alter meaning with the addition of new function vocabulary,
      (III) combine simple ideas and concepts (simple statements) into compound or complex sentences with dependent clauses and phrases,
      (IV) translate idioms or colloquialisms to what they mean (but *not* literal translations).(See Appendix B for a list of suggest stylistic «transforms» or manipulations that can be used to show how English sentence patterns can be altered to change meaning or function.)
   3. Students might share their sentences with the class or the teacher could read some without reference to the writer. Of course, it is very important that a non-judgmental tone is established during this activity as students volunteer how they might have written the shared sentence.
   4. The instructor would then demonstrate how to write up an outline of the paragraph or story/essay. He/she points out the main idea, the sub-ideas that support the main idea, and, if possible, identifies the type of audience the author (the class) was trying to reach through the story/essay. Once the students understand this activity, the teacher can have the students complete it as an oral or written activity at the completion of a unit of instruction and not at the completion of each lesson.
   5. If the generated paragraph(s) is an essay, students might be assigned a a research project that would expand their knowledge in this area or theme.
      (I) Research and study skills can be included in this option. Such skills as using an encyclopedia; reading glossaries, charts, illustrations for information; taking notes without plagiarizing can be

introduced or given practice here. Details of such skill development would be predicated by the age of students although all can be taught and given opportunities to some of them.

9b. The writing activities in section number 9a were mainly rhetorical in nature. Mimicking and duplicating good oral and written examples of English are very important to producing authentic, idiomatic, original utterances and syntactically correct sentences and paragraphs. However, of equal importance is the opportunity to create original, unique utterances and written work. These opportunities, in the long run, appear to be essential to becoming authentically proficient in the four communication skills of listening, speaking, reading and writing.

1. Each individual (or peer partners or small groupings of three and four students) chooses a subject that will become the basis for generating original sentences, paragraphs, and stories/essays. Subjects might be based on previously learned American cultural items that might be studied with more depth or some aspect of the student's native culture explored. Content area interests or personal interests can be pursued. However, the instructor should try to avoid assigning subjects even if he/she knows the students might be limited in English-language cultural and educational experiences. Rather, the instructor can provide a variety of provocative pictures or language cards that have been used to promote oral skills. Older or more proficient students can be provided with lists of categorized words in a writing center that can be referred to for ideas. Character List (height, weight, age, intelligence, *etc.*), Place List (things in the place, physical and geographical descriptions, scenery, *etc.*), Event List (where the action took place, who was there, results of the action, *etc.*), are but a few categories that can easily be expanded to provide vocabulary and ideas for original sentences, paragraphs and stories/essays.
2. The next step is for the student(s) to write an opening or topic sentence about his theme/subject.
3. This topic sentence should be rewritten, in a variety of ways, by the student using some of the changing mechanisms the teacher used in his/her demonstration, *i.e.*, the student transforms or manipulates the sentence with the changes mentioned earlier. (See Appendix B.)

Note: Elementary-level students may be capable of only working on developing sentence writing skills. However, I have realized a definite amount of success with students from the fourth grade through senior high school with this method of teaching writing skills.

4. To monitor all this individual activity the teacher will have to use some individualizing techniques.
   a. Conferences for each individual can be scheduled during the class period. The teacher can easily move from student to student aiding in the development of the original topic sentence or the sentence rewrites.
   b. For this conference routine to be successful, students will have to be trained in the behavioral procedures for individualized learning. Such knowledge is certainly valid since it introduces to the students pedagogical procedure they may meet when they become permanent members of English language classrooms.
   c. If there are too many students in the class to have conferences with during the class period, it would be wise to have a variety of valid, reinforcement materials available to those who have completed their sentence work. Games, vocabulary or spelling activities, easy reading selections, and read-along cassette sets are possible choices.
5. Having rewritten their opening sentences in a variety of ways, students can now go on to developing their story or essay. It is best to encourage the students to write whatever comes to mind about the subject. The goal is to allow the student to give full attention to the ideas and meanings of what he/she is trying to communicate without worrying about structure or vocabulary.
6. Teacher-student conferences are again provided to show the student how to clarify and revise what has been written. The student might be required to add more information to the written material or only to write down neatly the completed paragraph or story/essay.
7. The next activity is to have students write an outline of the completed work. Outlining should not precede the writing activity. As Beechhold and Behling observe:

> «The kind of intensive outlining that many teachers ask their student to do prior to writing is disastrous. The student is, in effect, being asked to write his paper before he writes it. Far more useful to the student is abstracting an outline from the piece he has already written. This formulates the logic (or lack thereof) of his work and will clearly show him what he must do to more effectively organize the piece . . .» (9)

8. Necessary revisions and corrections are made on the final copy by the students. Motivating the students to have confidence in what they are doing will probably be the most difficult task the teacher will have in the writing skills section. Being overly critical or picayune over details or stylistics will, of course, discourage any student. The second language student has an even more difficult task when he is attempting to record his feelings, ideas or concepts since he is developing the ability to think as well as express himself in his second language.
9. A final activity that helps students to visualize what they are trying to say, is to illustrate their work. Drawings and cut-out-and-paste pictures can be added to the final version of a story. Charts and graphs could be added to essays. All students benefit from this activity, not just younger pupils, because it helps to develop in the second language two important cognitive skills: the ability to transfer a unit of knowledge to another medium and the skill of relating non-verbal expression to the oral and written modes.

The preceding sequence of activities were designed to develop all four of the communication skills - listening/comprehending, speaking, reading and writing - in English. Each activity can be isolated to assure mastery or practice of a specific skill. At the same time, any component of each communication skill is practiced within a natural, valid cultural context. Also, any task within the sequence can easily be expanded to include a variety of media and materials, and in this way guarantee mastery of any specific curriculum item that may cause learning problems for an individual child or group.

Since the steps in the sequence of tasks printed above include explanations and digressions, I am completing this description with a condensed outline of the sequence.

The sequence of instructional and learning tasks for developing linguistically sound strategies for teaching English language communication skills to limited English-speaking students are:

1. Determine phonological, morphological, syntactical, cultural and study skill items to be taught.
2. Sequence the curriculum items to teach requistite skills or information before terminal objectives (*i.e.*, perform a task analysis).
   a. Match related components so that related phonological, morphological, syntactical, and or function vocabulary are taught in tandem.
   b. Sequence the cultural units of instruction.

c. Divide each unit into a series of lessons or sub-units that teach and provide practice for curriculum items.

3. *Orally introduce* subject or theme of unit or lesson.
4. Model content vocabulary items.
5. Provide a dictionary/spelling/vocabulary activity.
6. Make available reading and writing activities to reinforce dictionary/spelling/vocabulary work.
7. Students participate in activities that generate original stories or essays based on unit or lesson theme to
   a. promote oral discussion and sentences that are recorded;
   b. generate a source for listening and reading comprehension practice;
   c. provide study, learning and following directions (oral and written) skills.
8. Students participate in activities that develop compositional skills based on the oral, vocabulary and reading exercises provided in the units' earlier tasks.
   a. Students complete rhetoric activities to develop sentence, paragraph, story or essay writing skills.
   b. Students learn to make stylistic revisions on provided sentences and paragraphs.
   c. Students produce original sentences and paragraphs and learn to clarify and revise their work.
   d. Students develop outlining skills to aid in developing logically organized paragraphs and longer compositions.

Notes

1. Finocchiaro (1969, 1974) and Paulston and Bruder (1976) provide information about the special pronunciation conflicts between English and the major languages of the world. Paulston offers techniques for dealing with the conflicts.

2. Tucker and d'Anglejan in «New Directions in Second Language Teaching,» in *English as a Second Language in Bilingual Education*, TESOL, Washington, D.C., 1976, offer these conclusions based on a variety of research and testing experiences,

> « . . . the student can most effectively acquire a second language when the task of language learning becomes incidental to the task of communicating with someone (such as a classroom teacher who is not necessarily a second language specialist, but always a native speaker of the target language) about some topic (such as geography or basketball) which is inherently interesting to the student. Note we do not mean to imply by these remarks that the trained second-language teacher has no role to play in a well-designed bilingual education program.»

3. During the opening plenary session of the 1978 TESOL conference, Ruth H. Crymes of the University of Hawaii promulgated the development of «authentic» and «natural» texts and teaching activities that promote discreet and integrative competencies in the acquisition of a second language within learning situations that are relevant to the goals of the targeted students but represent current, accepted ESL theory.

4. These teaching strategies and material-development activities are essentially «language experience» approaches.

5. The same format is applicable to teaching ESL students content area subjects. The content becomes the medium for instructing students in English communication skills.

6. Younger and pre-literate older students who are enrolled in bilingual projects should be taught the process of reading in their native language. If students are not provided this opportunity, then the ESL instruction has to provide such skills. No matter the situation, specific vocabulary, sentence patterns, phonological structures, semantic or cultural items should be commensurate with the students' ages and grade levels as well as structured to help students gain competency in the linguistic structures that cause conflict or interference between their native and second language.

7. A *task analysis* is the sequential breakdown into the necessary tasks or steps a student must successfully complete to master a learning performance objective. Included in the analysis are the necessary prompts, practice activities, and feedback devices that inform the student *what* he/she will learn, *how* she/he will learn it, and in what manner he/she will *demonstrate* whether the objective has been learned or more study is necessary. A synonymous term for task analysis is «teaching script.»

8. Oral reading by students can be an uncomfortable experience. I would recommend it be avoided as a classroom activity. However, having a student orally read a short passage, a sentence or question is usually a good diagnostic procedure for acquiring information about the student's encoding and decoding skills in the second language.

9. *The Science of Language and the Art of Teaching,* New York, 1972. p. 190.

APPENDIX A: NEGATIVE INTERFERENCE BETWEEN PORTUGUSE AND ENGLISH

The following lists of Portuguese-English linguistic conflict features were determined by informal observations of Portuguese dominant students in English as a second language classes, in informal school situations such as recess, gym classes, or presentations in auditoriums, and in English-language classrooms. To simplify the observation, I developed a classification system that listed discreet English-language phonological items that I would listen for in utterance situations such as conversations, recitations, and discussions. I also classified the English utterance patterns (word order and grammar) and listened for their usage by Portuguese dominant students in the same situations. It soon became apparent that this was a bit too unwiedly. Instead, I recorded «incorrect» usage and sound reproduction as it appeared during conversations, recitations, and discussions, and then classified them.

The information derived from both attempts to identify specific phonological and grammatical conflicts that Portuguese dominant students had in learning English was quite valuable to me as I planned lessons and curricular items.

However, I in no way assume the information derived from my informal observations to be definitive. Also, many of the usage «errors» that the Portuguese dominant students made in their communications with native English speakers appeared to be universal or common usage «errors» endemic to the English speaking community in which they were socializing. Consequently, «errors» may have been learned or induced from the students' attempts to communicate in the English language community and not represent true conflicts between the native and second language. Thus, I offer the following information for what it is worth to the individual ESL teacher who teaches English as a second language to Portuguese dominant students.

A. Phonological Features

1. *Vowels*

   a. Portuguese speakers learning English often have difficulty discerning and replicating the difference in sound between:

      1. /æ / and / ɛ /
         pat vs. pet

      2. / I / and / i /
         hit vs. heat

3. /ə/ and /ɑ/
   above vs. pot

4. /ʊ/ and /u/
   pull vs. move

5. /ɔ/ and /ɑ/
   caught vs. cot
   «Bob» might be pronounced as «bore»

b. Vowels before /r/ cause pronunciation problems.

c. Some students do not hear the difference between:
   /u/ (boot)
   /ʊ/ (foot)

d. There is a tendency to add open vowel sounds to the end of words when spoken in sentences or phrases, especially under the stress of conversation.

2. Reproducing the following consonant sounds both discreetly and in utterance appeared to give problems to many of the students analyzed.

a. final /s/ becomes /z/
   gas pronounced gaz
   or
   final /s/ or /z/ dropped in phrases or conversation (appears in grammatical situations more often than in isolated sounding situations)

b. final /t/ and /d/ often confused as same sound for the 3 morphological endings for the past tense ed

c. Final /n/ and /m/ or before a consonant is dropped and the preceding vowel nasalized. This usually appears in sentences that use past participle ending <u>en</u>:
   Maria Has broke the glass.

d. /ŋ/ often dropped (ring becomes rin)

e. /θ/ voiceless th) pronounced as /s/ or /t/
thick becomes tick or sick, think becomes tink

f. /ð/ (voiced th) pronounced as /t/ or /d/
mother becomes mudder

g. /s/ pronounced as /sh/
Texas becomes Texash

h. /r/ is sometimes trilled

i. initial /y/ is dropped especially before /i/
year becomes ear
yeast becomes east or heast

j. initial /h/ is dropped
medial /h/ is pronounced like Portuguese r

k. initial /w/ especially before /ə/, /ɔ/ and /ɛ/;
wonder, wall, and weather (observed mainly in adult speech)

l. /z/ often pronounced as /j/
(«g» in beige will sound like /j/ in judge)
final z dropped

m. final /p/ /k/ /b/ /g/ /v/ /c/ /j/
almost not duplicated or reproduced (voiceless stops t p and k are not aspirated)

n. medial double /t/ and /d/ sometimes heard as a flapped Portuguese r
medial double /t/ is not differentiated from double /d/ as in latter or batter, most apparent in spelling and dictation situations.

o. medial / d / reproduced as / l / (Judy becomes Juli)

B. In grammatical usage the following were apparent in a large percentage of the speaking patterns of those interviewed or analyzed:

1. There was a tendency to generalize verb form rules to irregular verbs even after learning to recognize and use the principal parts of a large group of irregular verbs. Ann K. Fathman in her paper presented at the 1978 TESOL conference, «ESL and EFL learning: Similar or dissimilar?», found this to be a characteristic of ESL and EFL students when she tested a variety of both groups with a standardized proficiency examination.

2. The / s / is dropped from the third person singular simple present tense: The boy sing.

3. Past tense forms are replaced with present tense forms or the inflectional morpheme (ed) is dropped:
Yesterday, he hits me. Yesterday, she walk home.

4. Repeating the subject as a pronoun:
My daughter, she telephones me.

5. Using a different gender of the pronoun than the noun antecedent's gender:
My son (brother), she . . .

6. Dropping the subject pronoun: (She) can talk.

7. Inaccurate placement of adjectives in word order:
The desk black.

8. Misuse of expressions about future events that are designated with *going to*: I go to office.

9. Sentences beginning with expletives *it* and *there* are often omitted: Is in box.

10. Substitution of no for not usually with the modal do:
No have. No sing.

11. Incorrect negation pattern: Me no go.

12. Confusion between simple present and continuous present tense.

13. Addition of definite articles where not needed:
I know the Doctor Sousa.

14. Deletion of the indefinite article:
She is nurse. He boy.

15. Incorrect use of *more* with comparatives:
more better, more small.

16. Substitution of forms of *to have* for *to be*:
I have twenty years.
I have hungry.

17. Incorrect placement of noun complement following a linking verb is often omitted:
He boy.

18. Incorrect placement of pronoun with two-word verbs:
Try on it.

APPENDIX B: A LIST OF «TRANSFORMS OR SENTENCE STRUCTURE CHANGES

Once students have a fairly good grasp of a targeted sentence structure or ally and/or in sentence-composing activities, the addition to the lesson of one of these stylistic changes can transform a productive rhetoric lesson. The end result is that the student becomes increasingly aware of the syntactical variety and complexity of the English language.

Any sentence-writing lesson can be extended by:

1. Substituting antonyms
2. Substituting synonyms
3. Substituting homonyms
4. Change statements to questions:
   yes/no questions
   tag questions
   inverted-order questions
5. Change statements to commands
6. Change questions to statements
7. Change tense
8. Change to passive voice
9. Change statements to negation
10. Add prepositional phrases as adverbial phrases:
    She studied by watching TV.

Phrasal prepositions:
In spite of, from below, etc.

11. Build verb phrases: add modals and auxiliaries to simple verb forms

12. Add noun phrases

13. Change single nouns to plural

14. Change intransitive verbs to transitive

15. Combine two simple sentences with function vocabulary:
E.g., though, and, but, because, than

16. Combine simple sentences to produce compound sentences; sentences with compound subjects and/or predicates

17. Contractions

18. Change adjectives to adverbs

19. Change nouns to pronouns

20. Combine *ideas* within a paragraph to produce a more concentrated paragraph; delineate a paragraph's idea(s) by «translating» or expanding the given sentences

21. Substitute idioms with similar idioms; translate an idiom literally and rewrite the sentence around the translation

Bibliography

Beechhold, Henry F. and John L. Behling, Jr., 1972. *The Science of Language and the Art of Teaching*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

Brown, Marshall L., Elmer G. White, and Edward B. Jenkinson, 1976. *Two Approaches to Teaching Syntax*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, Indiana.

Bruton, Ronald W., 1977. *An Ounce of Prevention Plus a Pound of Cure: Tests and Techniques for Aiding Individual Readers*, Goodyear Publishing Company, Santa Monica, California.

James E. Alatis and Kristie Twaddell, Editors. 1976. *English as a Second Language in Bilingual Education: Selected TESOL Papers*, (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages), Washington, D.C.

Estes, Thomas H. and Joseph L. Vaughan, Jr., 1978. *Reading and Learning in the Content Classroom: Diagnostic and Instructional Strategies*, (Abridged Edition), Allyn and Bacon, Boston, Massachusetts.

Flanagan, John C., Robert F. Mager and William Shanner. 1971. *Behavioral Objectives: A Guide to Individualized Learning / Language Arts*, Westinghouse Learning Press, Palo Alto, California.

Frey, Betty J., 1976. *Basic Helps for Teaching as a Second Language*, Communication Skill Builders, Inc., Tucson, Arizona.

Finocchiaro, Mary. 1969, *Teaching English as a Second Language*, Harper and Row, New York.

Griese, Arnold A., 1977. *Do You Read Me? Practical Approaches to Teaching Reading Comprehension*. Goodyear Publishing Co., Inc., Santa Monica, California

Kadler, Eric H., 1970. *Linguistics and Teaching Foreign Languages*, Van Nostrand Reinhold Co., New York.

Mallet, Jerry J., 1976. *101 Make-and-Play Reading Games for the Intermediate Grades*. The Center for Applied Research in Education, Inc., West Nyack, N.Y.

Paulston, Christina Bratt and M. N. Bruder, 1967. *Teaching English as a Second Language*, Winthrop Publishers, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Prator, Clifford H., Jr. and Betty Wallace Robinet. 1972. *Manual of American English Pronunciation*, 3rd edition, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., New York.

Rivers, Wilga M. and Mary S. Temperley. 1978. *A Practical Guide to the Teaching of English as a Second or Foreign Language*, Oxford University Press, New York.

Scaff, Joanne. 1976. *The Language Arts Idea Book: Classroom Activities for Children*, Goodyear Publishing Company, Inc., Pacific Palisades, California.

Spalding, Romalda Bishop. 1969. *The Writing Road to Reading*, William Morrow and Company, New York.

Spolsky, Bernard, Editor. 1972. *The Language Education of Minority Children: Selected Readings*, Newbury House Publishers, Inc., Rowley, Massachusetts.

Valette, Rebecca M. and Renee S. Disick. 1972. *Modern Language Performance Objectives and Individualization: A Handbook*, Harcourt Brace Jovanovitch, Inc., New York.

Wilson, Robert M., 1972. *Diagnostic and Remedial Reading for Classroom and Clinic*, Charles E. Merrill Publishing Co., Columbus, Ohio.

Wilson, Roy R., Jr., 1970. *Teaching Children Language Arts*, Parker Publishing Company, Inc., West Nyack, New York.

Algumas Notas Relativas ao Ensino Secundário e aos Estudantes Bilingues Provenientes Dos Países de Lingua Portuguesa

Salazar Ferro
Universidade de Coimbra

1-INTRODUÇÃO

Tenho estado em permanente contacto com o ensino, primeiro como estudante, e, a seguir, como professor. É natural, portanto, que, ao chegar aos EUA, os problemas do ensino me tenham interessado mais do que quaisquer outros, e, em certos casos, me tenham despertado particular atenção, pelo contraste que apresentam com o ensino em Portugal e noutros países de Língua Portuguesa que conheci.

Os estudantes do ensino bilingue Português-Caboverdiano/Inglês, na sua quase totalidade, já tiveram ensino em Português durante um espaço de tempo variável. Mais tarde, ao chegarem aos EUA ingressaram no programa bilingue.

O meu objectivo, neste artigo, é focar alguns contrastes entre o ensino em Português, que os estudantes conheceram nos seus países de origem, e o ensino do programa bilingue que vieram a ter na continuação dos seus estudos na América (ou ensino regular como continuação lógica do ensino bilingue).

É evidente que falar de contrastes será falar de pontos diferentes. Logo, as pessoas serão levadas consciente ou inconscientemente a fazer juízos de valor. Possivelmente os farei algumas vezes. Desde já, porém, quero chamar a atenção para o facto de que não pretendo com isso mostrar ou dar a entender que um dos ensinos é melhor que o outro. Pretendo, sim, na análise que se segue, ser um instrumento imparcial e desapaixonado, se acaso é possível sê-lo num assunto que já é por si apaixonante.

Dar-me-ei por satisfeito se este artigo puder contribuir para que os educadores e administradores venham a conhecer melhor as necessidades dos alunos do programa bilingue Português-Caboverdiano/Inglês.

2-OS MEUS PRIMEIROS CONTACTOS COM O ENSINO BILINGUE

Soube da existência do ensino bilingue, após a minha chegada aos EUA. Algumas das pessoas com quem falei, umas que já cá vivem há muitos anos, e outras aqui nascidas, me disseram não haver nenhum interesse na existência do ensino bilingue, deixando-me a impressão de que seria mesmo prejudicial a quem o seguisse. Em face dessas informações, não tive a menor hesitação em pôr o meu filho mais novo no curso regular, o que lhe valeu o atraso de alguns meses na sua educação. Hoje, porém, consciente do erro cometido e após rever todo o problema, fico surpreendido e me pergunto como é possível, a tanta gente, estar segura de tantas coisas erradas. A única explicação possível é a falta de informação.

A experiência, depois adquirida, me permitiria, no entanto, constatar um pormenor bastante interessante: alguns professores dos cursos regulares não concordam com o ensino bilingue. Por outro lado, a lei permite aos pais e encarregados de educação a livre escolha do programa de ensino para os seus educandos. Portanto, poderão escolher entre o ensino regular e o bilingue. Se optarem pelo programa regular, os professores logo depararão com crianças cujos conhecimentos de Inglès são nulos ou quase nulos. Por isso, com o andar dos dias, não será difícil constatar-se que o professor, que não fala nem entende a língua da criança, acabe por pô-la de parte, embora tenha dito antes que não concordava com o ensino bilingue. Os pais acabarão, também, por compreender os factos, não lhes restando outra alternativa senão transferir os educandos para o ensino bilingue. Isto significa que a liberdade de escolha é enganadora.

Comecei, no entanto, a frequentar as reuniões dos pais (PAC), as quais me permitiram ir-me integrando nos problemas e objectivos do ensino bilingue.

3-COMO VEJO O ENSINO BILINGUE, DEPOIS DE UM ANO DE PERMANÊNCIA NOS EUA

É interessante notar que poucas pessoas da comunidade são indiferentes ao ensino bilingue. Em geral, ou são fortemente contra ou fortemente a favor. A maior parte delas, porém, não se encontrando suficientemente informada, não faz a mais pálida ideia dos métodos nem dos objectivos do ensino bilingue. E, muitas vezes, são estas as únicas pessoas que aconselham as que chegam.

Antes da existência do ensino bilingue, os estudantes chegados aos EUA, vindos de outros países, tinham de assistir às aulas nas classes regulares. Como todas as cadeiras eram ministradas em Inglês, a maioria não entendia absolutamente nada do que se passava nas aulas de Matemática, Ciências ou qualquer outra. O choque e a frustação que se seguiam eram inevitáveis. No entanto, para iniciarem o estudo do Inglês, se tornava forçoso acolegarem-se com crianças de 7 anos de idade, que também começavam a aprender, o que, como consequência, os fazia desinteressar-se do estudo. Os anos se iam passando, verificando-se que os estudantes que entrassem na escola com 13, 14 ou 15 anos, convencendo-se de que lhes seria impossível compreender as matérias, por serem ministradas em Inglês, que não entendiam, acabavam por desistir. Completando os 16 anos de idade empregavam-se e, mesmo recebendo o salário mínimo, para aquela idade representava uma pequena fortuna, o que dava como resultado imediato abandonarem de vez os estudos, convencidos de que deles já não precisavam.

São inúmeros os emigrantes que não estudaram devido ao facto acabado de apontar. Pela vida fora ficaram sujeitos a todos os inconvenientes que uma preparação deficiente acarreta. Outros, mais persistentes, quando aprendessem o Inglês, recomeçavam os seus estudos, mas quantos, só passados mais de dezena de anos? Ainda se encontram muitos procurando melhorar a sua educação mas agora à custa de quantos sacrifícios?

A criação do ensino bilingue veio acabar com os problemas expostos, permitindo ao jovem que chega, continuar os estudos que vinha fazendo na sua língua nativa, com introdução progressiva do Inglês. Ao fim de três anos, em geral, já fluente nesse idioma, poderá continuar os seus estudos nos cursos americanos. Deste modo evitam-se não só a descontinuidade na educação do jovem como também o choque e a frustração, antes inevitáveis.

Para o Caboverdiano, em particular, representa ainda uma vantagem bastante grande: a aprendizagem na sua língua nativa (o Crioulo). Tenho usado o Crioulo nas aulas em que só existem Caboverdianos. Nas em que existem Caboverdianos e Portugueses juntamente, a fim de cumprir o espírito da lei bilingue, o ensino das diferentes matérias é feito nas duas línguas.

Nas minhas aulas, os alunos podem, em qualquer ocasião, expressar-se ou escrever em Inglês, Caboverdiano ou Português. O estudante poderá, deste modo, escolher a língua em que tem maior facilidade em expor a matéria em questão. Tenho reparado que a preferência varia conforme a índole do curso ou conforme o aluno pretender falar ou escrever. É natural que pareça estranho uma liberdade tão grande na escolha da língua mas repare-se, por exemplo, que tenho classes de 20 alunos em que alguns sabem um pouco

de Inglês; outros estão a iniciar a aprendizagem dessa língua; quase todos compreendem em maior ou menor grau o Português, embora o escrevam muito mal, havendo alguns que não o escrevem mesmo; e, finalmente, todos, sem excepção, são fluentes em Crioulo mas não o escrevem.

Em face disso, qual será a maneira de se saber se os alunos compreenderam uma lição ou se estão preparados num assunto respeitante a Geografia, Física ou à Matemática? A solução que tenho adoptado é permitir-lhes o uso indiscriminado das três línguas, tanto oral como escrita. Sob o ponto de vista linguístico estará certo? É possível que não. No entanto, para os objectivos do bilingue, estou convencido de que o caminho está correcto. O aluno nunca se sente inibido ao expressar as suas ideias, o que não sucederia se eu exigisse uma só das três línguas. Aliás é curioso notar que todos querem ter a palavra. Sente-se o progresso de dia para dia.

4-ELENCO DAS CADEIRAS NOS PAÍSES DE LÍNGUA PORTUGUESA

Durante muitos anos existiu uma relativa calma social em Portugal e nas antigas colónias portuguesas. Os princípios culturais pareciam funcionar suficientemente bem, de modo que as pessoas não encontravam muitas razões para discussões filosóficas. Entretanto, começou a guerra em África e, depois de alguns anos, o povo português começou a ficar cansado: os filhos seguiam para a guerra com todas as consequências inerentes ou, em alguns casos, os filhos abandonavam o país para sempre, segundo muitos pensavam, e a inflação galopante causava os seus efeitos perturbadores. A calma social começou a deteriorar-se e os velhos princípios a serem postos em causa. O processo de renovação foi, no entanto, travado pela limitacão imposta pela velha filosofia, originando comportamento agressivo ou defensivo entre os partidários das rápidas mudanças e os oponentes a essas mesmas mudanças.

Depois da revolução de 25 de Abril de 1974, que depuzera o governo vigente, alguns princípios, considerados sagrados e intocáveis durante muitos anos, foram completamente banidos dum dia para o outro. Como é característico dum período revolucionário, os partidários das rápidas mudanças, pura e simplesmente, impuseram a sua nova filosofia. Devido à rapidez e amplitude das alterações levadas a efeito, muitas das quais em um período calmo seriam úteis, foram mais tarde invalidadas. Não é de estranhar, portanto, que depois de Abril de 1974 até à data presente, muitas pequenas reformas tenham feito reviver outras que pouco antes haviam sido invalidadas.

No Ensino Superior e Elementar, houve algumas alterações profundas, principalmente no primeiro. No Ensino Secundário, as alterações foram muito menores. O Ensino Pré-Primário continua, praticamente, a não existir.

No que respeita ao elenco das cadeiras, enquanto que nos EUA os alunos dispõem de centenas de combinações relativas às matérias a estudar, como veremos adiante, nos países de língua portuguesa dispõem apenas de duas combinações no Ciclo Preparatório:

Português	Desenho
Francês (ou Inglês)	Música
Matemática	Religião
Ciências Naturais	Educação Física;

de uma combinação no Curso Geral dos Liceus:

Português	Matemática
Francês	Físico-Química
Inglês	Geografia
História	Ciencias Naturais
Música	Desenho
Religião	Educação Física;

e, de algumas no Ciclo Complementar dos Liceus, escolhidas entre as seguintes;

Português	Matemática
Francês	Física
Inglês	Química
História	Ciências Naturais
Grego	Geografia
Latim	Desenho
Alemão	

No último caso, os alunos têm duas cadeiras obrigatórias e quatro optativas.

Os alunos do Ciclo Preparatório passam de ano se tiverem uma média igual ou superior a 10/20 (equivalente ao C-). Repare-se, no entanto, que se ficarem reprovados, têm que repetir todas as cadeiras, mesmo aquelas em que tenham sido excelentes. No Curso Geral, onde as cadeiras estão divididas em duas secções (Ciências e Letras), sucede o mesmo em cada secção. Isto significa que o aluno poderá ser aprovado em metade das cadeiras e ser reprovado noutra metade. Perderá um ano, mas bastar-lhe-á repetir uma secção.

No Curso Complementar a aprovação é por cadeiras. A reprovação numa cadeira apenas implica a perda de um ano, mas o aluno só repetirá a cadeira ou as cadeiras em que não teve aprovação.

Quase todos os alunos com mais de 13 anos têm já alguns anos de estudo em Português, Francês, Inglês, História, Matemática, Física, Química, Geografia, Ciências Naturais e Desenho.

Nos EUA as cadeiras são quase todas optativas.

Os alunos do programa bilingue que escolherem as cadeiras que já tinham no seu país de origem, têm nelas, a maior parte das vezes, uma vivência tão grande que, sem se esforçarem absolutamente nada fora das aulas, conseguem ser bons alunos. Por esta razão, ouve-se dizer com frequência que certos alunos, que eram medíocres e não gostavam de estudar, ao chegarem aos EUA se tornaram alunos excelentes. A maior parte das vezes isto é um engano: o que sucede é que esses alunos estão a estudar matérias que já ouviram várias vezes, e, logicamente, sobressaem em relação aos outros que estudam o assunto pela primeira vez. Este facto pode, no entanto, ter um aspecto prejudicial para os alunos que se convencem de que poderão continuar a ser bons estudantes ouvindo apenas o que se passa nas aulas. Mais tarde, ao prosseguirem os estudos com matérias novas ou ao ingressarem na Universidade, ressentem-se deste estado de coisas, como é natural.

5-O TAMANHO DOS EDIFÍCIOS ESCOLARES, AS AULAS DE ESTUDO E A DISCIPLINA

O tamanho dos edifícios escolares e a disciplina estão interligados. Vou-me referir a um conjunto de edifícios formando uma grande escola que conheci com bastante pormenor, antes de vir trabalhar nas Escolas Públicas de Boston, e que mostra muito bem a verdade da afirmação acima referida.

O edifício tem quatro casas, com um coro central. Há inúmeras portas de ligação que permitem aos alunos passar de casa para casa ou de andar para andar.

Durante o dia, muitos estudantes têm aulas de estudo, as quais, em princípio, deviam ser utilizadas para fazerem os trabalhos passados pelo professor ou estudarem. Na realidade, porém, só uma pequena e insignificante percentagem de estudantes usa as aulas de estudo com esta finalidade, pois, normalmente, o que se verifica é que esses períodos são usados unicamente para conversar. Grande número de alunos pede autorização para ir aos quartos de banho ou aos armários individuais que lhes são destinados para guardarem os livros e os casacos. Podendo o professor rescusar o segundo pedido,

mas não podendo nunca recusar o primeiro, muitos estudantes se aproveitam desta peculariedade e vão passear, desnecessariamente pelos corredores, fazendo toda a casta de barulho e incomodando os outros estudantes nas suas aulas. Estes, chamados de fora, acabam também por pedir autorização para sairem, indo encontrar-se com os colegas.

Em virtude desta situação intolerável, para se obter silêncio e haver melhor clima de trabalho, a administração distribui aos professores tempos para estarem nos corredores verificando os passes dos alunos. Os que têm passe poderão circular; ao passo que os outros, por não estarem autorizados, fogem da área onde está o professor. Os que forem apanhados, em geral nas escadas ou ao virar um corredor, são levados à presença do administrador (vice-reitor) da casa em questão. Nessas ocasiões, muitas vezes o professor é insultado ou ameaçado de estragos no seu carro, ameaça que frequentemente se concretiza.

O grande número de estudantes nos corredores permite, com a maior das facilidades, a penetração de pessoas estranhas no edifício, devido ao facto de todas as portas se abrirem para fora para a defesa em caso de incêndio. O estudante legal transfere o seu passe para o ilegal. Se for apanhado, entretanto, justifica-se facilmente dizendo que o perdeu. Entretanto essas pessoas estranhas ficam com o campo livre para as suas actividades escuras.

Em conclusão, em complexos tão grandes, as aulas de estudo se tornam desnecessárias porquanto somente criam indisciplina.

As escolas donde provêm os alunos de língua portuguesa, na sua grande percentagem, têm um número de alunos bastante pequeno. Deste modo, os alunos e os professores se conhecem bem, o que lhes permite estabelecer, entre si, boas relações de amizade. Basta a presença do professor para que os vigilantes não sejam necessários. Neste caso, o professor é dignificado ao passo que, no caso há pouco referido, acontece precisamente o contrário.

No caso da escola ter uma população muito grande, alguns alunos aproveitam o facto de serem incógnitos para reagirem de forma anormal, criando inúmeros problemas disciplinares.

Os alunos do bilingue depressa passam a ter a psicologia da «multidão». Não estranho o facto, pois tenho visto grupos de pessoas muito responsáveis, de procedimento irrepreensível, quando isoladamente, as quais, em grandes grupos, se comportam como crianças. De qualquer maneira, o procedimento dos alunos do bilingue Português-Caboverdiano/Inglês, comparado com a média, é louvável.

A concluir, parece-me que seria preferível fazer funcionar 6 escolas de 500 alunos, por exemplo, em vez de uma de 3000. Além de melhorar o problema disciplinar, teria muitas outras vantagens: melhor preparação académica, participação mais efectiva dos pais, possibilidade da grande maioria dos alunos poder deslocar-se a pé para a escola por se tornar possível a dispersão das escolas por diversas áreas o que, inclusivamente, diminuiria grandemente o custo dos transportes.

6-MADISON PARK HIGH SCHOOL

Vou-me referir com certo pormenor a um Liceu de Boston para servir de exemplo do sistema que os estudantes bilingues vêm encontrar.

Madison Park High School é o mais novo e moderno Liceu de Boston. Os seus seis edifícios com terraços, lojas, campos de ténis e campos de jogos ocupam vários acres de terra. Os dois maiores edifícios académicos contêm salas de aula, biblioteca, centro de communicação (jornal, rádio, televisão). centro de ocupação educacional, vários refeitórios e um teatro. Os outros edifícios têm laboratórios, divisão de música, salas para arte e indústria, vários ginásios e piscinas.

Embora seja um grande edifício, os inconvenientes de «multidão» antes referidos, foram amenizados numa proporção bastante grande. Não existem as malfadadas e inúteis aulas de estudo e os alunos não passeiam pelos corredores. Logo que começa cada período de aula, as portas de comunicação são fechadas, podendo por elas passar apenas os alunos com um passe assinado pelo professor. Mesmo os quartos de banho são fechados e os alunos só os podem utilizar desde que tragam também uma autorização escrita pelo professor.

O elenco das cadeiras que a seguir indicamos dá ideia das centenas de combinações possíveis de que os estudantes bilingues passam, repentinamente, a dispor. O plano refere-se ao ano de 1978/79 e consiste do seguinte:

ENGLISH

Shakespeare
Poetry
Science Fiction
Man Threatened
Female Experience
Writing Workshop
Film Criticism
Informational Eng.
Reading For Enjoy
Black Literature
Drama
Short Story
Horror in Lit.
Mythology

Stranger Than Fiction

College Board Prep.
Amer. Indian Exp.

SPECIAL PROGRAMS

American Honors
British Honors
Humanties
Theater Arts I
Theater Arts II
Theater Arts III
Technical Theater

Intro Teatro Hisp.
Intro Teatro C.V.
Teatro Avanzado Hisp
Teatro Avançado C.V.
Intro to Media
Media &Comm II
Media &Comm III
Photography

ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE

E.S.L. I Hisp
E.S.L. I C.V. /Port.
E.S.L. II Hisp
E.S.L. II C.V. /Port.

E.S.L. Mixed
E.S.L. III Hisp
E.S.L. III C.V. /Port.
E.S.L. IV Mixed
E.S.L. V Mixed

HISTORY

U.S. History
U.S. History Adv.
Hist-Estados Unidos Hisp
Hist-Estados Unidos C.V.
Dictators / Pres.
Psychology I
Psychology II
Boston Neighborhoods
Hist / Cult. Lat. Amer. Hisp.

Current Events
Government
You & The Law
Civica
Sucesos Del Dia
Prob. Of Amer. Soc.
Ethnic Studies
20th Century Europe
Hist / Cult. Cabo Verde

FOREIGN LANGUAGE

Life in different Lands
Spanish I
Conversational Spanish
Spanish II
Spanish II Adv.
Espanol II Hisp.
Spanish III

Life in French Speaking Lands
French I
Conversational French
French II
French II Adv.
French III
French IV

Español II Hisp.
Spanish IV
Español IV Hisp.

German I
German II
Portuguese III C.V.
Italian I

MATHEMATICS

Calculator Math
Math Básica Hisp.
Math Básica C.V.
Career I
Career II
Consumer Math
Consumer Math Adv.
Math Consumidor Hisp.
Math Consumidor C.V.
College Review Math
Adv. College Math

Algebra I
Algebra I Hisp.
Algebra I C.V.
Algebra II
Algebra II Adv.
Algebra II C.V.
Geometry
Geometry Adv.
Geometria C.V.
Trigonometry
Computer Science I
Computer Science II

SCIENCE

Ciencia / Tierra Hisp.
Ciencia / Terra C.V.
Biology
Biologica Hisp.
Biology C. V. / Port.
Physics

Chemistry
IIs Physical Sci.
Anatomy
Marine Study
Plants
Medical Career
Indep. Sci / Eng.

BUSINESS

Recordkeeping
Bookkeeping I
Bookkeeping II
Personal Typing
Typing I
Typing I PT
Typing II
Typing III
Shorthand I
Shrt. II Transcrp.

Office Practice I
Office Practice II
Business Law
Consumer Education
Effective Bus. Comm.
Speedwriting
Merchandising I
Merchandising II
Merchandising Co-Op
Distributive Ed.

Office Practice I	Simulated Office
	Bi-Ling Distrib Ed
MUSIC	
Theory I	Brswnd Tech I
Theory II	Brswnd Tech II
Theory III	Wind Ensemble
Music Theater	Guitar I
Survey of Music	Guitar II
Ethnic Music	Guitar III
Music & The Stage	Electronic Music I
World Cult. Music	Electronic Music II
Perc. Tech I	Violin, Viola, Cello I
Perc. Tech II	Violin, Viola, Cello II
Perc. Ensemble	Contra Bass
Bell Choir I	Electric Bass I
Bell Choir II	Electric Bass II
Class Piano I	Orchestra
Intermediate Piano	Stage Band
Class Piano II	Beginning Band
Advanced Piano	Concert Band
Master Keyboard	General Chorus
Woodwnd Tech I	Swing Choir
Woodwnd Tech II	Modern Choir
PHYSICAL EDUCATION	
Phys. Ed. reg. prog.	Phys. Ed. spec. prog.
INDUSTRIAL ARTS	
Drafting I	Graphic Arts I
Drafting II	Graphic Arts II
Drafting III	Power Mechanics I
Electricity I	Power Mechanics II
Electricity II	Woodworking I
	Woodworking II
ART	
Art Exploration	Photography
Ceramic / Sculpture	Printmaking

Design
Drawing
Water Color Technique
Art Major

HOME ECONOMICS
Basic Clothing
Creative Clothing
Creative Costume
Designer Workshop
Family Living
Indep. Living
Womens Studies
Child Study I
Child Study II
Int. Dec. II
Basic Foods
Advanced Foods
Creative Cuisine
Comm. Food Serv.

FLEXIBLE CAMPUS PROGRAMS
Prev.-Voc. Health Careers
Health Aide
Hospital Assistant
Commercial Foods
Restaurant Mngmt.
Fashion Arts
Clthng. Const./Power Stitch
Custom Dressmkg./Tailoring
Cosmetology
Medical Secretary
Bingl. Nurse Assistant
Bingl. Food Serv. Wrkr.
Bingl. Cosmetology
Bingl. Business Careers

TRADE
Woodworking
Carpentry
Plumbing
Electronics
Sheet Metal
Printing
Machine Shop
Painting
Auto Repair

–Para a graduação, os alunos precisam satisfazer as seguintes exigências:
–Inglês-Ter um semestre em cada ano. Completar 8 semestres entre os graus 9 e 12.
–Estudos sociais-Ter História Mundial no 9º grau. Ter 10.0 pontos em História, incluindo História dos Estados Unidos.
–Matemática-Ter o 9ºgrau. Ter 10.0 pontos.
–Ciências-Ter 10.0 pontos.
–Educação Física-Ter 3 anos de Educação Física e obter 3.0 pontos.

–Saúde-Ser aprovado.
–Para passar de ano os alunos precisam ter os seguintes pontos:
–Do primeiro ano (9º grau) para o segundo ano (10º grau)-18 pontos.
–Do segundo ano para o terceiro ano (11º grau)-42 pontos.
–Do Terceiro ano para o quarto ano (12º grau) -65 pontos.
–Para a graduação-90 pontos e cumprir os cursos obrigatórios.
–Os estudantes que querem continuar os seus estudos na Universidade devem preparar-se nos sequintes cursos:
–Segunda língua-2 anos
–Algebra I e II-2 anos
–Geometria-1 ano
–Ciências-Química, Física (Se vai continuar a estudar Ciências).

7-PROFESSORES SUBSTITUTOS

Os professores substitutos formam outra peça da máquina educativa que os estudantes bilingues de língua portuguesa encontram pela primeira vez na América.

É interessante um artigo de Gloria Stashower na revista «School Management»: Is there a substitute for substitutes?, Abril de 1974, páginas 24 e 26.0 artigo começa por apresentar os pontos de vista das diferentes pessoas envolvidas no processo:

«The parents' view: «Where did you go? School. What did you do? Nothing. We had a substitute».

The teacher's view: «Well, there goes the last contigency lesson plan».

The administration view: «$34 a day for a baby sitter!»

The students view: «Can we go to the library? Substitutes always let us go to the library».

The substitute's view: «At last, three o'clock. I'll take two aspirins and pray the phone won't ring in the morning».

A utilização dos professores substitutos será desejável? Os professores substitutos não deviam existir a não ser na educação de adultos (normalmente em aulas nocturnas) ou em ausências prolongadas dos professores efectivos.

Na realidade:

a) O substituto é mal recebido pelos estudantes e com total desinteresse para a sua exposição. Procuram transformar a aula em brincadeira.

b) A maior parte das vezes a especialidade do professor substituto não coincide com a do professor efectivo e, então, a aula é transformada em aula de estudo. Mais uma a somar às outras e consequente aumento nos corredores da população dos que nada fazem e procuram levar os que fazem alguma coisa a não fazer nada também.

Em virtude do exposto, como poderiam ser resolvidos os problemas das ausências dos professores efectivos? Distribuindo aos estudantes outras actividades conforme as suas preferências: biblioteca, ginástica, futebol, filmes, etc.

Em ausências prolongadas, já se justificaria um professor substituto, mas experiente na área em questão. Pelo facto de não vir ser professor apenas por umas horas e ser especialista, seria recebido pelos alunos de maneira muito diferente.

8-CONSELHEIRO

Os estudantes de língua protuguesa não têm conselheiros nos seus diferentes países de origem. No sistema escolar dos EUA, a sua existência é imprescindível. Note-se, no entanto, que o conselheiro pode ser bastante prejudicial aos estudantes bilingues se ele não estiver devidamente elucidado no que diz respeito a certos pormenores da comunidade a que pertencem esses alunos. No caso particular dos estudantes do programa bilingue Português-Caboverdiano/ Inglês, vejamos o que sucede:

É dado aos pais grandes poderes de decisão na definição dos estudos a serem feitos pelos filhos. Sucede, porém, que é de tradição os pais pensarem que os professores fazem sempre o que melhor convém aos filhos. Sendo assim, dão carta branca aos educadores para exercerem as suas funções (no caso do bilingue aos professores e ao conselheiro, mas, praticamente, apenas ao conselheiro).

Se o conselheiro estiver devidamente informado da maneira de ser dos pais, fica com uma responsabilidade muito grande, pois, se permitir aos alunos a definição dos respectivos curriculuns e, mais tarde, a livre troca das cadeiras, torna-se único responsável pelo grande número de graduados do

Liceu que fica sem preparação para continuar os estudos ou para exercer qualquer actividade que não sejam aquelas que podem ser exercidas por pessoas que não têm estudos nenhuns.

Os pais deviam, portanto, ser devidamente elucidados de que podem desempenhar um papel bastante importante na educação escolar dos filhos e, em particular, na definição das matérias a estudar. Deve ser-lhes dado conhecimento da grande diversidade de opções que está à disposição dos filhos, de modo a que estes possam desenvolver convenientemente as suas aptidões.

No caso dos que aparentemente se desinteressam, o papel de pai devia ser desempenhado pelo conselheiro, pois o desinteresse acabado de referir, como já dissemos atrás, não existe na realidade. Alguns pais, uns por não terem estudado e outros por conhecerem a finalidade do conselheiro, pensam que este desempenhará melhor as suas funções sem a sombra perturbadora dos pais. Em conclusão, o conselheiro tem que ter bem presente todos estes factos.

A meu ver, dentro do programa bilingue Português-Caboverdiano/Inglês devia haver um conselho de professores trabalhando conjuntamente com o conselheiro. Aliás é esta a situação que os pais julgam existir, a qual ocasiona o seu aparente desinteresse. Os pais costumam ser criticados pelo seu absentismo, mas, repetimos, na maior parte dos casos, isso é fruto da absoluta confiança que têm na orientação dos professores e do conselheiro.

Tem-se, pois, de mentalizar os pais para a realidade que a lei lhes confere, ou os educadores terão de ser dignos da confiança que neles se deposita. Tem-se de evitar o ciclo vicioso da escola não se preocupar demasiado com certos problemas dos alunos, pensando que os pais os resolverão convenientemente; e os pais a não se preocuparem com os mesmos problemas, por pensarem que é da escola que sairão as melhores soluções. Entretanto, as principais vítimas deste ciclo vicioso vão sendo os filhos, que acabam por decidir eles próprios, com a agravante de grande percentagem tender a ir para o oportunismo e facilitismo que, como consequência, gera não só um diploma que nada vale e, senão também, mais tarde, uma vida profissional bastante difícil.

Fiquei bastante surpreendido por não ter encontrado em todas as grandes escolas, ou, pelo menos, em grupos de escolas, centros de orientação académica e profissional, tirando proveito da estatística e computação. É incompreensível esta situação num país com uma técnica tão evoluída e com uma população estudantil tão grande, a necessitar desses serviços. É possível que se possa pensar que os centros iriam entrar em conflito com alguns princípios filosóficos da Escola Americana, mas bastava que os centros fossem

apenas informativos e não deliberativos para que houvesse harmonia total.

9-O PROBLEMA DA DEFINIÇÃO DO NÍVEL INICIAL DO ESTUDANTE BILINGUE

Os estudantes são colocados em níveis proporcionais às suas idades. Tenho encontrado alunos para os quais este critério tem sido muito nocivo.

Certos alunos, pelos estudos feitos nos seus países, deviam ser colocados no 7º grau, por exemplo, mas, pela idade, são colocados no 10º grau. Tanto os alunos como os pais ficam, inicialmente, bastante satisfeitos com o facto. No entanto, é sol de pouca dura, pois, colocar o aluno naquele nível, é comparável a ter-se uma casa apenas com o primeiro andar construído e prentender-se prosseguir a construção, saltando-se para o quarto andar. É evidente que este andar não se seguraria, em geral, e quando se segurasse não permitiria a construção de mais nenhum andar. Quando caísse, apresentaria a agravante de estragar o andar já construído. É precisamente esta a imagem do que acontece com esses alunos. Convencem-se de que são intelectualmente deficientes e como a sua idade lhes permite arranjar emprego, acabam por desistir dos estudos. A causa deste facto é não se ter estudado o aluno convenientemente de forma a colocá-lo no grau correcto.

Não nos podemos esquecer, no entanto, que os alunos de 15 ou 16 anos, por exemplo, que tivessem de começar ao nível do Ensino Preparatório, iriam ter colegas muito mais novos. Tinha-se, portanto, de fazer um arranjo especial de modo a evitar esta situação que seria prejudicial para todos eles.

10-O NÍVEL DE APRENDIZAGEM NAS ESCOLAS SECUNDÁRIAS PÚBLICAS

Comparando o nível de aprendizagem dos estudantes nas escolas públicas americanas com as dos países de língua portuguesa, os países europeus ou da américa latina, que são os que conheço com certo pormenor chego à conclusão de que, em estudantes da mesma idade, a preparação dos estudantes nos EUA é inferior à dos segundos. A meu ver, uma das causas do facto acabado de referir reside, em primeiro lugar, na total liberdade de escolha de cadeiras que existe nas escolas públicas americanas e, em segundo lugar, na facilidade de trocar cadeiras ao longo do ano. Parece-me que a preparação melhoraria imenso se fosse oferecido aos estudantes não um grande lote de cadeiras isoladas mas sim conjuntos de cadeiras para a preparação dos alunos para uma determinada carreira académica ou profissional.

O estudante poderia escolher um grupo, mas escolhido este, ficaria obrigado às cadeiras pertencentes ao grupo, assim como ao seu arranjo ao

longo do tempo, podendo haver opções em maior ou menor número. Esta situação tem a vantagem de não permitir ao aluno estar constantemente a trocar cadeiras, muitas vezes à procura daquela que dá menos trabalho. Outras vezes, em vez dos alunos se esforçarem e deste modo dominar a matéria, preferem resolver as dificuldades pondo a matéria de lado e experimentar outra.

A minha actividade académica e profissional, desde os 17 anos, tem sido sempre à volta da matemática, mas, se tivesse tido, quando estudante, o sistema que acabo de referir, com a idade de 13 anos teria deixado de estudar matemática, pois foi a cadeira que me deu problemas naquela altura. Hoje em dia seria considerado uma negação em matemática e certamente nem saberia resolver uma inequação do 1º grau.

As razões da troca podem ser as mais diversas: não gostar da cara do professor ou este não deixar brincar na aula, a cadeira exigir bastante trabalho, etc. Num abrir e fechar de olhos a cadeira pode ser trocada por outra que julgam não ter os inconvenientes da anterior.

O sistema é, portanto, uma faca de dois gumes: permite uma liberdade imensa na escolha inicial das matérias e alteração durante o ano, mas, por outro lado, permite o oportunismo dos que querem o caminho mais curto à custa duma preparação deficiente. O sistema, por permitir a «lei do menor esforço», faz com que fique adormecido o acréscimo de força que, nestas idades jovens, seria suficiente para fazer florir um génio ou deixá-lo para sempre na escuridão. Infelizmente os alunos do bilingue habituam-se muito depressa às trocas.

Em conjugação com o exposto, parece-me que os programas deviam ser graduados de acordo com a idade. Não posso entender como é possível aos estudantes terem simultaneamente uma cadeira elementar de Matemática e cadeiras como Química e Biologia apresentadas com um nível completamente diferente, acessível apenas a alunos dos últimos anos. Devia existir uma Química, Física e Biologia adaptadas às idades mais jovens do Liceu, e as existentes só poderem ser tiradas nos últimos anos. Deste modo seria evitado que muitos alunos saíssem do Liceu desconhecendo certos assuntos imprescindíveis nos dias de hoje. É inconcebível, por exemplo, que um aluno diplomado do Liceu não saiba que a força é o produto da massa pela aceleração e não saiba as consequências da inércia com a agravante de virem a fazer a vida num país em que quase todas as pessoas conduzem um automóvel. Não compreendo como é possível, num mundo virado para a técnica, desconhecer a existência das reacções químicas, a fotosíntese, etc.

11-LIVROS DE TEXTO

Foi uma autêntica revelação para mim a enorme quantidade de livros de texto excepcionais existentes na América. Dentro da Matemática, em particular, abundam livros muito bons para todos os níveis do ensino secundário. No ensino universitário tive oportunidade de constatar o mesmo. No entanto, as publicações de Matemática, em Português, para os alunos de ensino bilingue, praticamente não existem. Parece-me que seria bastante útil a publicação, em Português, de livros de Matemática Básica, Algebra I e II, Trigonometria e Geometria, sem falar noutros. Certas pessoas têm tentado usar os livros das escolas de língua portuguesa, mas os programas, as orientações e os níveis são completamente diferentes. Os livros de Matemática têm que acompanhar de perto os do curso regular, pois em qualquer altura os alunos podem fazer a transição do bilingue para o curso regular. Não pode, pois, haver descontinuidade, sob pena de pôr em cheque o próprio programa bilingue.

No campo da Biologia e da Química os livros são demasiado complexos para a idade dos jovens. Parece-me que devia existir Biologia I e Química I mais acessíveis que a Biologia e Química agora existentes, que passariam a ser Biologia II e Química II. Deste modo, os alunos já poderiam criar gosto por estas matérias, imprescindíveis para quem quer seguir uma série de cursos na Universidade.

12-ENSINO OBRIGATÓRIO E GRATUITO

O ensino no Liceu é obrigatório e totalmente gratuito nos EUA. Embora o Liceu nos países de origem dos estudantes bilingues seja obrigatório e gratuito até certa idade, a obrigatoriedade não conduz a quase nada pois há imensos estudantes que não vão à escola e tanto eles como os pais não são chamados à responsabilidade por esta falta. Já tal não sucede nos EU onde a obrigatoriedade não só é mais extensa em anos como também estabelece penas severas para os que não a cumprem.

Os dois sistemas, no entanto, conduzem a duas situações disciplinares completamente diferentes. Nos países de língua portuguesa o ensino, na prática, não é obrigatório, como dissemos atrás, mas, se um aluno não tiver procedimento correcto, pode ser suspenso, o que é bastante grave, pois acarreta facilmente a reprovação do aluno. A perda de um ano na vida académica é duma grande importância como veremos adiante.

No caso dos EU a suspensão é, muitas vezes, de três dias. Se for exigida a presença do pai para que o filho seja admitido, isto vai acarretar a perda de um dia de trabalho do pai. Afinal o castigado passa a ser o pai. Alguns alunos até ficam satisfeitos de estar três dias em casa, que podem aproveitar vendo filmes na televisão. Se o aluno for um prevaricador sistemá-

tico, não se importa nada com o castigo.

O ensino universitário não é obrigatório nem gratuito nos EU. Pelo contrário, é extraordinariamente caro. Considerando uma média de 4000 dólares por ano de propinas e comparando com o que se paga nos países de língua portuguesa, aproximadamente 100 dólares por ano, vemos que aqui a situação é praticamente inversa à que se verifica no ensino secundário.

Nos países de língua portuguesa, a perda de um ano no Liceu ou na Universidade significa mais um ano a necessitar da mensalidade dos pais e mais um ano de atraso da sua independência económica, visto começar também a trabalhar com o atraso de um ano. Os estudantes muito dificilmente conseguem ter empregos antes de diplomados e os poucos que o conseguem são muito mal remunerados. Logo há pressa em acabar o curso, por razões económicas.

Nos EUA, os alunos ainda no Liceu conseguem ter empregos, sendo alguns bastante razoáveis. A Universidade, em grande número de casos, é paga pelo próprio estudante. A perda de um ano não significa o atraso de um ano em obter a independência económica ou exigir dos pais mais um ano de sacrifício.

A possibilidade de ter empregos ainda como estudante do Liceu representa, muitas vezes, uma ajuda importantíssima para certas famílias mas pode ter também um aspecto negativo, pois é um convite para colocar os estudos em segundo plano. Depois dos 16 anos a preocupação de muitos é comprar um carro para passear, mostrar aos amigos, sair com as namoradas aos fins de semana, tirar fotografias para mandar aos amigos que ficaram nos países de origem. Em contrapartida, o carro exige gasolina, seguro, conservação, etc. O estudante torna-se assim escravo do carro. Em primeiro lugar fica o trabalho, pois o carro está a exigi-lo; em segundo lugar ficam os estudos. Depois do trabalho, o corpo está cansado e o espírito preocupado com um grande número de problemas: trabalho, prestações a pagar, automóvel, fim de semana que passou, fim de semana que está a chegar, escolha dos canais de televisão a usar em cada momento livre até à hora de dormir. O estudo em casa fica esquecido. Grande percentagem de alunos limita-se a assistir às aulas, apenas! Alguns não assistem a todas as aulas. São autorizados a sair mais cedo para irem para o trabalho. Os livros ficam, em geral, no Liceu. Para quê levá-los para casa?

No que respeita ao ensino universitário nos EU, tenho notado da parte de certos alunos uma espantosa falta de preparação para poderem compreender certas matérias. Fiquei com bastante curiosidade de saber o que virá acontecer a esse tipo de alunos.

A selecção é praticamente natural. O comboio é apanhado livremente, mas é tambem abandonado com a mesma facilidade. A selecção começa no Liceu e continua na Universidade.

13-ELABORAÇÃO DO PROGRAMA DA CADEIRA DE CULTURA CABOVERDIANA

Os estudantes de qualquer programa bilingue têm, além doutras, uma cadeira obrigatória de História e Cultura do seu país. Relativamente aos alunos Caboverdianos levanta-se o problema da elaboração do programa de tal cadeira. O assunto é bastante controverso e está ainda por ser definido. Há um conjunto de factores e argumentos que tornam o problema difícil de ser resolvido. Veremos a seguir alguns deles:

1-Grande número de Caboverdianos se consideram africanos, enquanto outros se colocam na posição completamente oposta por se considerarem europeus. Os segundos, por exemplo, recusam o batuque e incluem a mazurca no estudo da Cultura Caboverdiana.

2-Os estudantes que têm chegado aos EUA, com raras excepções, ou tiveram Portugal como última residência ou por lá passaram para aguardarem o visto e depois embarcarem. Neste último caso também residiram um espaço de tempo em Portugal. Ao ser-lhes perguntado donde vêm, repetem o que escreveram numa grande quantidade de impressos, na Embaixada Americana, no aeroporto de Lisboa e no aeroporto de destino: origem-Portugal, destino-EUA. Isto leva as pessoas a concluir, naturalmente, que a língua nativa e cultura são Portuguesas. Este facto tem originado confusão até nos hospitais. Depois de preencherem o impresso de admissão, a administração chama um intérprete em Português. Este muitas vezes é Caboverdiano há muitos anos radicado nos EUA ou filho de Caboverdiano. Em qualquer dos casos, é fluente em Crioulo, mas o Português é muito limitado. O doente, por sua vez, pode não ser fluente em Português e, então, a comunicação é bastante complicada. No entanto, acabam sempre por descobrir que são ambos Caboverdianos e, a partir deste momento, o endendimento passa a fazer-se normalmente, mas em Crioulo.

3-Segundo relato do jornal «Tchuba», num artigo bastante informativo e interessante (Mass CV Bilingual Ed, Report Card on Bilingual education, vol. III, n4), em certas cidades os estudantes Caboverdianos são considerados de língua portuguesa de modo que não lhes é fornecido o ensino na sua língua nativa: Crioulo. O curioso é que embora sendo contrário aos princípios da lei bilingue, esta posição é facilmente defendida: depois da independência, foi adoptada, em Cabo Verde, a Língua Portuguesa como língua oficial. Assim,

os estudantes começam os estudos, em Cabo Verde, sempre em Português. Então por que não continuar os estudos na América em Português? É este o argumento apresentado por muitas pessoas.

4-Chegam ao bilingue estudantes de Portugal, Cabo Verde, Guiné, Angola, Mocambique, S. Tome e Senegal. Há a tendência em considerar 7 comunidades diferentes e, portanto, pensar-se no estabelecimento de sete cadeiras de cultura.

Para o caso de Boston, estes estudantes na sua quase totalidade ou são Portugueses ou Caboverdianos (ou filhos de Caboverdianos). Embora vindos de outros países, a língua e cultura caboverdiana não se perde mesmo para alguns que tenham estado pouco tempo em Cabo Verde. Para estas 7 hipotéticas comunidades bastam 2 programas (Português e Caboverdiano) para cobrir quase todos os estudantes.

Em relação aos filhos de Caboverdianos que não nasceram em Cabo Verde nem nunca lá estiveram, tenho encontrado casos de fluência em Crioulo bastante interessantes. Estas pessoas não só falam o Crioulo como qualquer Caboverdiano, como estão completamente dentro dos problemas culturais Caboverdianos interessando-se por eles, mais do que a média dos Caboverdianos. Têm orgulho da língua que falam e dessa cultura.

Um caso ainda mais interessante é o de um Caboverdiano que reside em Lakeville, nascido na América, que não conhece Cabo Verde e, no entanto, é fluente em Crioulo, com a particularidade de falar, quando quer, com o sotaque característico da Brava ou de S. Tiago ou S. Nicolau, como se fosse natural daquelas ilhas.

Em face do exposto em 1, 2, 3, e 4 dizia-me há dias um responsável pelo ensino que, ao falar com um novo Caboverdiano, acabava por ficar sempre mais confuso no que diz respeito à definição da comunidade. Diz que já não percebe se o Caboverdiano é africano ou europeu, de Língua Portuguesa ou Caboverdiana e, em qualquer das hipóteses, qual deverá ser o programa da cadeira de Cultura Caboverdiana.

Não quero deixar de dar também a minha opinião sobre tão controversos assuntos. A meu ver o Caboverdiano não é africano nem europeu: é Caboverdiano. Quanto à língua, para efeitos do ensino bilingue o Caboverdiano só deve ser considerado de Língua Portuguesa quando realmente for fluente nela. No restante dos casos, deve ser considerado de Língua Caboverdiana em que todos, sem excepção, são fluentes. Recusar-lhes, portanto, o programa na sua língua nativa com o argumento de que são de Língua Portuguesa está errado para todos os que não são fluentes em Português.

Quanto ao programa de Cultura Caboverdiana, qualquer que ele

vier a ser será sempre contestado por uma parte da comunidade. Por isso, a meu ver, todos os educadores Caboverdianos deviam ser reunidos juntamente com representantes da comunidade e, munidos de tudo o que está escrito e do que poderá vir a ser fornecido por Cabo Verde elaborar-se o Curso de Cultura Caboverdiana. Este curso poderia ser válido por três anos, por exemplo, e, ao fim deste tempo, poderia ser novamente apreciado para ser elaborado um novo texto, atendendo às críticas feitas e ao ensinamento que a experiência permitisse durante aquele tempo. Não se proceder deste modo e deixar o programa ao livre arbítrio do professor de Cultura, só vai contribuir para a divisão da comunidade, com uma parte a apoiar o programa e outra a atacar mas, uns e outros, com argumentos que não são educacionais em geral e, portanto, que não conduzem a nada e apenas criam mal estar entre pessoas que deviam estar unidas e dar-se como irmãos.

É sobretudo na música (mornas e coladeiras) que podemos encontrar uma das vias mais importantes para o estudo da Cultura Caboverdiana. Estudando as suas músicas ficamos a conhecer a sua grandeza de alma, o seu sentimentalismo, a sua luta contra as agruras da vida, o seu espírito optimista, a sua alegria de viver, a sua falta de materialismo. As mornas podem traduzir amor, dor, saudade, etc., e são lentas e sentimentais. As coladeiras, pelo contrário, são uma explosão de alegria e podem exprimir brincadeira, ridículo, humor, etc.

Conhecendo as coladeiras, por exemplo, os educadores compreenderão melhor certos casos tidos de indisciplina (raros nos Caboverdianos) e que mais não são que o reflexo da maneira de ser do Caboverdiano (brincalhão e humorista).

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1980—600-369/1